# REPORT RESUMES

ED 013 967 VT 003 665

FOLLOW-UP STUDY OF PROJECT UPLIFT, THE MDTA E AND D PROJECT CONDUCTED BY FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY.

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REPORT NUMBER BSSR-369 PUB DATE JUL 67
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$3.36 84P.

DESCRIPTORS- PROGRAM DESIGN, *EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS, *PROGRAM EVALUATION, *ADULT VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, RURAL AREAS, VOCATIONAL RETRAINING, JOB PLACEMENT, *DISADVANTAGED GROUPS, EMPLOYMENT SERVICES, PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS, RECRUITMENT, *FOLLOWUP STUDIES, SOCIOECONOMIC INFLUENCES, MDTA PROGRAMS, FLORIDA, PROJECT UPLIFT, FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY,

PROJECT UPLIFT'S PURPOSE WAS TO FIND EFFECTIVE WAYS OF REACHING, RECRUITING, TRAINING, AND PLACING DISADVANTAGED RURAL ADULTS LIVING IN A 10-COUNTY SECTION OF NORTHERN FLORIDA. THE FOLLOWUP STUDY HAS THREE GENERAL OBJECTIVES -- (1) TO SHOW THAT INDIVIDUALS WITH ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS WERE SERVED, THAT THEY WERE TRAINABLE AND THAT THE PROJECT COULD TRAIN THEM, (2) TO SHOW WHETHER THE TRAINING AFFECTED THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF THE TRAINEES, AND (3) TO IDENTIFY COMPONENTS OF THE PROJECT AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS WHICH AFFECTED THE TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES. DATA WERE OBTAINED THROUGH DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF PROJECT STAFF, DISCUSSIONS WITH CIVIC AND BUSINESS LEADERS, AND PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH ALL 146 TRAINEES AND A SAMPLE OF 158 OF 743 PERSONS WHO APPLIED FOR BUT WHO DID NOT BEGIN TRAINING. SPECIFIC CRITICAL FINDINGS INCLUDE -- (1) THE PROJECT DESIGN WAS INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE AREA NEEDS, (2) USE OF CONSULTANTS IN PLACE OF FULL-TIME STAFF SPECIALISTS IN TRAINING AND COUNSELING DIMINISHED PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS, (3) RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES INDEPENDENT OF THE COLLEGE WERE FEASIBLE, (4) MASS RECRUITMENT METHODS WERE EFFECTIVE, (5) JOB DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS WERE INSUFFICIENT, AND (6) THE "IMAGE" OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE IS NOT THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR DETERMINING NEGROES' USE OF ITS SERVICES. (ET)

"Special Manpower Volume"

BSSR

ED013967

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**BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, INC.**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

VT003665

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OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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# FOLLOW-UP STUDY OF PROJECT UPLIFT, THE MDTA E & D PROJECT CONDUCTED BY FLORIDA A & M UNIVERSITY

Submitted to:

Office of Manpower Policy
Evaluation and Research
U. S. Department of Labor
(Contract 83-08-03)

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July 1967

BSSR:369

# FOREWORD

This report is one of a series of reports on each of eight experimental and demonstration training projects followed up by the Bureau of Social Science Research under Contract Number 83-08-03 with the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training (now the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research) of the U. S. Department of Labor.* The eight training projects were conducted by seven institutions scattered from Michigan to Florida. Six of the institutions were considered to be "predominately Negro" colleges: Bluefield State College (West Virginia), Florida A & M University, Morgan State College (Maryland), A & T College of North Carolina, Tennessee A & I State University, and Tuskegee Institute (Alabama). The seventh institution was the Job Training Center in Lansing sponsored by the Michigan Catholic Conference. An over-all report will pool the experiences of the several projects and consider their implications for future manpower development programs.

The follow-up studies had three general objectives:

1. to document that the target populations--individuals with especially difficult employment problems--were serviced, that they are trainable and that these institutions can train them;

2. to document whether the training may have affected the employment situation of the trainees: that "trainability" leads to "employability"; and,

3. to identify components of the training projects and community characteristics which may have contributed to the training and employment outcomes.

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*The terms are used interchangeably in this report.

The "ideal" research design called for "before-after" studies. The timing of the award of the follow-up contract by OMAT to BSSR precluded the execution in its pure form of this design. The contract was awarded after one project had terminated, four others had begun, and the remaining three were about to begin. In all reports the "before" data are based on retrospective observations.

The study plan called for the integration of three distinct bodies of data into detailed reports on the individual projects. The starting point for the analysis was a series of discussions with members of the project staff at each of the training centers. These discussions yielded detailed information about the actual conduct of each project, its goals and methods. From these meetings and discussions it was possible to assemble pertinent histories for each project. Because of the method employed, the central perspective of each history was that of the persons charged with the conduct of the individual projects: the administrators, the instructors and counselors, and officials of the public agencies who may have cooperated in the conduct of the projects. In addition, records which helped to clarify the goals and conduct of the projects were made available to BSSR by OMAT.

This administrative perspective was broadened by a second body of data concerning special conditions in each of the areas where training was given. Discussions about local factors that would affect the outcome of the training projects were held with civic and business leaders in each area by members of BSSR's Study Team. From these discussions information was obtained concerning employment conditions in each area, hiring practices and preferences, skill requirements, etc. Thus, we knew a great deal about these projects and their settings, but the information we had was from the perspectives of the project personnel and people in what might be called the "power structure" of the local community.

To round out the picture of the projects, it was deemed necessary to view them from the perspective of the people they were designed to serve. This information was obtained through personal interviews by specially trained interviewers. The sampling plan called for interviewing all trainees and a sample of persons who applied for but who did not begin training. Interviewing took place from six to twelve months after the completion of training. The respondents were asked about their personal and economic situations at the time they applied for training in addition to their experiences with the training project and their current situation.

In most interviewing areas no experienced interviewers were available; pools of potential interviewers were formed through the recruitment efforts of BSSR field directors. Negro school teachers were the primary source in most areas. In all, more than one hundred and fifty interviewing recruits passed "screening," passed training, and conducted one or more interviews.

Interviewers underwent intensive training by BSSR field directors to locate the respondents whose addresses, although verified by the Post Office, were up to two years old--and to conduct the lengthy follow-up interview. Where respondents were concentrated, interviewers could be supervised locally; where respondents were scattered, interviewers were supervised by mail and phone from BSSR in Washington, D. C. In either case, all interviews were subjected to quality control procedures designed to yield a high level of completeness and consistency among responses. As a result item response rates are extremely high for all "critical" items in the schedules.

Approximately 2400 persons who applied for training at any of the projects were to be interviewed; completed interviews were obtained from about 1700, a response rate of over 70 per cent. About three-fourths of those who began training at any project were interviewed; the rate ranged among the projects from 53 per cent to 96 per cent. Response rates for those who applied for but who did not begin training were somewhat lower. The latter group, it should be noted, could provide a basis for evaluating the recruitment and selection procedures of the projects and, under special circumstances, could serve also as a control group with respect to the effectiveness of training.

The authorship of each individual report was assigned to a permanent staff member of BSSR who also was responsible for the analysis of the several bodies of information available about a project, but each report is also based upon the research contributions of many staff members of BSSR. The studies were under the over-all coordination of Dr. Robert T. Bower, Director, BSSR, with the assistance of Laure M. Sharp, Senior Research Associate. Leslie J. Silverman, Research Associate, was the Study Director, and, together with Mrs. Bettye K. Eidson and Miss N. March Hoffman, Research Analysts, designed the studies. The BSSR Study Team consisted of Dr. Frank Cotton, Mississippi State University; Dr. Lewis Jones, Fisk University; and Dr. Charles Grosser, New York University. Field operations for the trainee follow-up in Florida were conducted from March through June, 1966, directed by Barton Sensenig III. Dr. Samuel Lyerly designed the statistical procedures used in the various reports, and Richard Jones provided data processing consultation. Frank Davis supervised the coding operations and Miss Megan McLaughlin supervised the interviewers and the quality control operation. Donald Goldstein was the programmer. Miss Angeles Buenaventura, Miss Diantha Stevenson and Mrs. Mary Helen Shortridge also provided valuable assistance.

We are grateful to many individuals throughout the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor who assisted us. Within OMPER, Mr. Robert Lafaso, our first project officer, and Mr. L. B. Wallerstein, who succeeded him, provided valuable guidance and met our requests in a most satisfactory manner.

We are grateful also to the directors and staffs of the training projects who cheerfully underwent so many hours of interviewing by BSSR staff. The helpfulness of employers of trainees, officials of state and local Employment Security Commission offices, and State Education Agencies is acknowledged and appreciated.

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# I. INTRODUCTION

Project Uplift, the MDTA Experimental and Demonstration project sponsored by Florida A & M University, was one of several college-based projects conducted in the south-eastern United States during 1964 and 1965. Their common purpose was to find effective ways of reaching, recruiting, training, and placing disadvantaged rural adults. Because of the particular spatial problems presented by this population to agencies which wished to include them in Federally-financed retraining programs and the lack of existing comprehensive facilities, a solution was sought outside conventional Employment Security-Vocational Educational channels. It was thought that by providing centralized, in-residence training facilities these colleges might meet the total needs of this scattered population. With their existing administration bases and under-utilized resources, typically in agricultural and vocational training spheres, these colleges might be well suited to developing the manpower potential of the disadvantaged rural population.

## FAMU

Florida A & M University is located in Tallahassee, the state capital and seat of Florida State University. The area has been called the "pork chop" by some, denoting both its rural character and traditional political dominance in the state. Tallahassee has also been called the Capital of South Georgia, denoting a degree of affinity with economic and social patterns of life across the border.

Florida State University, a predominately white institution, has expanded greatly during the past two decades; formerly the state womens' college, it is now in active competition with the University of Florida in Gainesville for preeminence in the state. There is every reason to believe that the future of FAMU, a predominately Negro state college, will be determined, if it has not already been, by its proximity to FSU. The State of Florida, we have been told, cannot justify duplicate, redundant institutions within the same city. Although the policy of the State had not been made public, reliable sources informed BSSR that it is likely FAMU will become a general college offering technical and vocational education and a two-year liberal arts curriculum. Admission elsewhere into a 4-year program will not necessarily result from successful completion of these courses. Apparently the General College of the University of Minnesota is the model.

Many persons within the FAMU community have hoped that they might have a voice in determining their own future. Some have wished for a liberal arts and teacher training institution, others for a post-high school technical institute. Technical education almost certainly will have a place in the rumored new program; the State has recently financed construction of expanded technical education facilities. The new building, without equipment, may have cost as much as $1.5 million.

As an aside, we found the atmosphere on the FAMU campus to be very different from that felt at other predominately Negro colleges where follow-up studies have been conducted. The students seemed dispirited, depressed. Few groups of laughing students were observed on campus; grimness pervaded the place.

## Origins of the E & D Project

FAMU hired its first university research coordinator in 1965, more than one year after two proposals for training projects had been prepared by FAMU staff. The need for such a person had become clear during the previous months when parallel negotiations by two departments of the University for training demonstration funds culminated in ill feeling that adversely affected the training program which eventually took place. One of the research proposals had come out of the School of Home Economics, prepared for submission to the Area Redevelopment Administration. The other came from the School of Industrial Education and was to be submitted to OMAT. As the Florida Employment Service (FES) would approve only one project, compromise was achieved. MDTA was selected as the prospective funding program and, by implication, the project, if approved, would be operated by staff from the Industrial Education faculty. Included was an agreement to offer some training occupations which would utilize facilities in the areas of home economics and agriculture.

The general design of the FAMU project evolved during the prolonged negotiations between OMAT and FAMU begun near the end of 1963. A first proposal was submitted to OMAT during January, 1964, and they responded about two months later. The proposal was modified during a series of meetings with FAMU representatives. These meetings seem to have provided OMAT with the opportunity to screen FAMU staff members for a suitable Project Director. It is BSSR's understanding that the appointment of OMAT's choice as Project Director was a condition for contract approval. This condition was met in June, 1964. The Project Director-elect was called to Washington and shown a proposal which, he recalls, did not bear much similarity to the one previously submitted and modified. More effort was given to refining the newer proposal which finally met with OMAT's approval late in the fall of 1964. Contract approval was further delayed by regulations of the University System of Florida: only its Board of Control was empowered to sign contracts. Several more weeks passed. The contract was signed by all parties and funded as of December 7, 1964, about one full year after negotiations began.

The FAMU project was designed to provide OMAT with information which would complement the findings from other E & D projects. The design called for the formation of locally-based committees of nonprofessionals to recruit, counsel, and follow up on the trainees and/or their families. The intention was to extend the experience of the North Carolina A & T, E & D project "family schools," a feature designed by OMAT. The FAMU project design also called for a small O-J-T component; on-the-job training as a simultaneous solution to training and placement problems of the hard-core was "in the air" in Washington at that time. OMAT hoped that the FAMU experience would supplement the Morgan State College experience and its O-J-T project, then in operation on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, as a test of O-J-T.

Other features of the FAMU project design represented compromises worked out by OMAT to meet FAMU preferences. A particularly ingenious compromise permitted the inclusion in training of large numbers of high school graduates, a population FAMU preferred to serve.

We have presented the history of the design of the FAMU project in some detail because it typified the relations BSSR has observed between OMAT and its college-based E & D contractors. OMAT called the tune; it proposed most, if not all, of the project design to be carried out by the contractor. We believe that this strategy of designing in Washington projects to be carried out in local areas tended to stimulate the rise of some situations that OMAT wanted to prevent. Among them were the following.

1. Lack of contractor compliance.--E & D contractors, under this arrangement, could not have been expected to comply with all contract provisions written by OMAT, for many reasons. Some contractors might not have shared OMAT's appreciation of a particular experimental feature; indeed, some may not even have understood it. Some may have assessed an experimental feature as unnecessary to their project in terms of their understanding of the goals of the E & D program, and some may have concluded that because of local conditions an experimental feature might damage the integrity of their project.

FAMU decided that the O-J-T procedures were too complicated and time too short to pursue this feature of their project. As they later reported to BSSR, they saw no reason for an O-J-T component because they expected no difficulty in developing jobs for their trainees. No O-J-T component was conducted. Similarly, FAMU did not ask their locally-based committees to do all that OMAT expected the committees to do. In this instance we believe FAMU did not adequately anticipate the problems the training project would present.

2. Irrelevance of experimental features.--Some project features might not have been appropriate or relevant in particular social, political or economic contexts. Had OMAT known about the high incidence of plantation labor in the counties served by the FAMU project it might not have proposed that FAMU adopt recruitment techniques developed for wage labor areas or areas where plantation labor had been displaced. In this instance, the FAMU project was directed by OMAT to replicate some features of the recruitment effort conducted at the Tennessee A & I, E & D project.

Our point is that the outcome of the replication is not a particularly valuable product. Rather, it is the interpretation of why the replicated technique was--or was not--successful that has the greater utility. So far as BSSR can determine, OMAT communicated to FAMU little that was calculated to encourage them to design a project appropriate to the North Florida area. All that OMAT could have learned, then, was that a technique which worked in parts of Tennessee either did or did not work in North Florida, a modest return for a sizeable investment.

3. Institutional alienation.--The demonstration strategy usually assumes that the involvement of existing institutions in a new program will lead to their commitment to that program. OMAT's procedures, however, excluded the involvement of these institutions in what may be the most critical stage of the demonstration, its design. The local offices, generally, of the Florida Employment Service tended to reject the project and its goals. While the State MDTA supervisor there thought that given more time he might have secured their cooperation, it is just as plausible that cooperation might have been secured had their judgment and experience been solicited during the design stage. Some of these local offices viewed the project as usurping their legitimate functions without offering any "compensation." We do not know, but it is possible that participation in the design of the project might have been viewed as adequate compensation.

The OMAT design strategy, as we look back upon it from the perspective of the present, produced some lack of compliance on the part of its E & D contractor and increased the probability of the introduction of inappropriate features into the project while tending to alienate the very institutions whose participation it wanted to encourage.

Alternative strategies are available which would not dilute OMPER's authority to rule on proposals or even, in the last analysis, to design projects. The most attractive to BSSR requires planning grants for the preparation of proposals designed to meet explicit specifications of desired outcomes. It is based upon the assumption that OMAT can specify these outcomes, as well as codify alternative strategies which should be considered, and communicate these to potential contractors.

The characteristics of a trainee population is an example of an outcome which OMAT can, and did, specify. But OMAT did not codify for potential E & D contractors a variety of methods it was aware of, including unevaluated ones, by which the specified target population might have been reached. It should have been the task of the potential contractor, after considering various possible approaches, to design a recruitment program appropriate for his area. FAMU did not know until after the fact the kinds of applicants their school principal contacts would produce.

The burden of proof should rest with the potential contractor. He should be required to document the plausibility of the features of his proposal. Multipurpose planning grants are indicated to produce this type of proposal.

Documentation may require that research or investigations of a more or less systematic nature be conducted; the E & D contractors whose projects were followed up by BSSR, including FAMU, knew far too little about their milieu and their potential trainee population. Documentation may require small-scale pilot demonstrations. The potential contractor who contends that "O-J-T won't work here" can demonstrate his contention by trying to develop and fill in a short period of time as many slots as possible for the specified population.

The multipurpose planning grants could also provide for "conferences" in which representatives of local ES offices, local education agencies, and other relevant persons could participate in the design of the project.

These conferences might also open up dialogues concerning local implementation of E & D goals among the potential contractor, local officials, State officials, and, when necessary, consultants. We are unable to speculate whether the presence of an OMPER staff member would facilitate or inhibit the proceedings; in any case the proposal is to be assembled and submitted to OMPER by its local representative, the potential contractor. Meanwhile, the potential contractor, if a college, would be funded so that it might utilize its professional staff to secure the necessary documentation.

The strategy we have outlined may be as appropriate for designing the training portion of the project, that is, those features within the administrative province of HEW, as those portions within the province of the Department of Labor.

The BSSR Study Team assayed the planning of the FAMU project to be among the best it encountered, but found gross inadequacies nonetheless. Planning took over one full year. The project plan reflected the efforts of several OMAT staff members for the equivalent, roughly, of one-half man year or more, in addition to the contributions of the FAMU staff. It is plausible to us that a better conceived project (and a better qualified contractor) could have been developed in the same amount of time by delegating to the institution and other groups in the locality the responsibility for project design. We also consider it plausible that delegation of design decisions within the limitations of OMPER's specifications might have prevented the development of the situations we described above.

The OMAT and HEW contracts totaled about $400,000. BSSR was informed that these contracts were the largest ever received by FAMU, perhaps ten times greater than its previous Federal support from the National Science Foundation.

## The Provisions of the OMAT contract

We have abstracted the features of the OMAT contract.

## Purpose of the Project:

1. To provide a twelve (12) month program of testing, counseling, selection and referral to training for a minimum of three hundred (300) persons and to provide for the development and supervision of on-the-job training for 20 selected persons.

2. To demonstrate the effectiveness of special services in recruitment, selection, training and placement of low income rural workers.

3. To demonstrate the effectiveness of locally-based committees and part-time citizen coordinators in:

a) strengthening communications, particularly in recruitment, between the training institution and the unemployed rural worker;

b) easing the transition to be made by trainees and their families.

4. To demonstrate the effectiveness of volunteer committees in providing follow-up services after training.

5. To determine which services within a comprehensive program need to be specialized and which services are useful in a program for various age groups and/or wide occupational levels.

6. To demonstrate the effectiveness of training in urban life as a means of reducing job-finding problems of these rural workers.

7. To show the reliability of a general measure of intelligence as a predictor of achievement in various levels of training when the measure is adjusted for cultural deficiency and intra-group norms.

## Characteristics of the Trainees:

1. They will be selected from 10 predetermined counties defined by the U. S. Bureau of Census as rural, with a population living largely in communities of under 2,500 persons.

a) at least 50 per cent of the total nonwhite population should be classified as rural.

b) a significant percentage of this rural population should fall between the ages of 18-40 years.

2. They will be predominantly Negro rural residents, male and female, ages 18-40.

3. They will be unemployed or members of households with annual family incomes of $1,200 or less.

4. They should be high school graduates and/or dropouts without salable skills for whom retraining is essential for employment who are presently unqualified for conventional retraining or referral to jobs.

5. They will have limited knowledge and understanding of their abilities and the relationship of these abilities to specific occupations.

6. They will lack high motivation and have low levels of aspiration.

7. They should be capable of being motivated to move to Tallahassee and remain on campus and/or participate in on-the-job training and later seek out jobs primarily by migrating elsewhere.

Recruitment:

1. In each county a longtime local resident who is respected, active in community life and capable of relating to persons from various socioeconomic classes should be selected as "Citizen-coordinator."

2. The project-staff will hold a two-day workshop in order to familiarize the citizen-coordinators with the project and various problems which will be encountered as well as techniques that would be useful.

3. With the cooperation of the citizen-coordinator, a volunteer committee will be formed in each county.

4. The project staff will hold a one-day workshop for members of the volunteer committees.

5. The citizen-coordinator and volunteer committee will:

a) familiarize persons in their regions with the project, encourage participation and recruit trainees.

b) follow up and encourage prospective trainees.

## Testing and Selection:

1. Personal data will be assembled by using Nagel Personnel Interview and Screening Forms.

2. Group A will consist of one hundred (100) persons 18-40 years from all the predetermined counties and will be selected on the basis of high scores on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. A cut-off score of 115 is to be used but may be lowered if the number scoring above is inadequate.

a) the test should exclude all paper and pencil performance;

b) the time factors are to be doubled.

3. Group B will consist of 200 persons who will be selected randomly from the persons who did not qualify for Group A, selection to be on the basis of reading ability as measured by Diagnostic Reading Scales at the instructional and potential levels. Cut-off level to be between 3rd grade and 7th grade.

4. The General Aptitude Test Battery is to be administered during the first week of training.

## Training:

1. Training plans will be developed by using the results of the GATB, other test information, trainee preference and counselor recommendations.

2. Prior to on-the-job placement, trainees will receive between 3-15 weeks of remedial instruction in basic studies, personal and social adjustment and an orientation to their occupational field.

3. Training period will be 12 months, December 7, 1964 to December 6, 1965.

4. Institutional training is to include technical education, basic education which will include communication skills and mathematical skills, and education in personal and social adjustment--that is, instruction related to the world of work.

5. Specific occupational areas to be selected will provide a reasonable expectation of employment to the trainees.

Job Placement:

1. The Florida Employment Service and the project development specialist will try to gain support for the program and locate sites and new job opportunities for the on-the-job trainees who will continue to work with these employers or be placed with other acceptable employers.

2. The trainees of the institutional program will be placed through the project staff and the Florida Employment Service and the various committees.

Follow-Up:

1. The project staff will counsel and assist trainees for 3 months following training.

2. The citizen-coordinator and volunteer group are to provide services such as referral to the Employment Service and other social services, referral to jobs and direct casework service to those who were not accepted into training.

# II. RECRUITMENT

## The Recruitment Area

This section of the report considers the characteristics of the 10 county area from which trainees were to be recruited as background to an understanding of the outcomes of the FAMU E & D project's recruitment and job development efforts. This analysis should also serve to identify the type of area to which the project's experience may be generalized.

The project design called for the college to select from among the 36 counties of North Florida 10 which "generally meet the following criteria:

1. That it is a substantially rural area--most communities with less than 2500 persons.

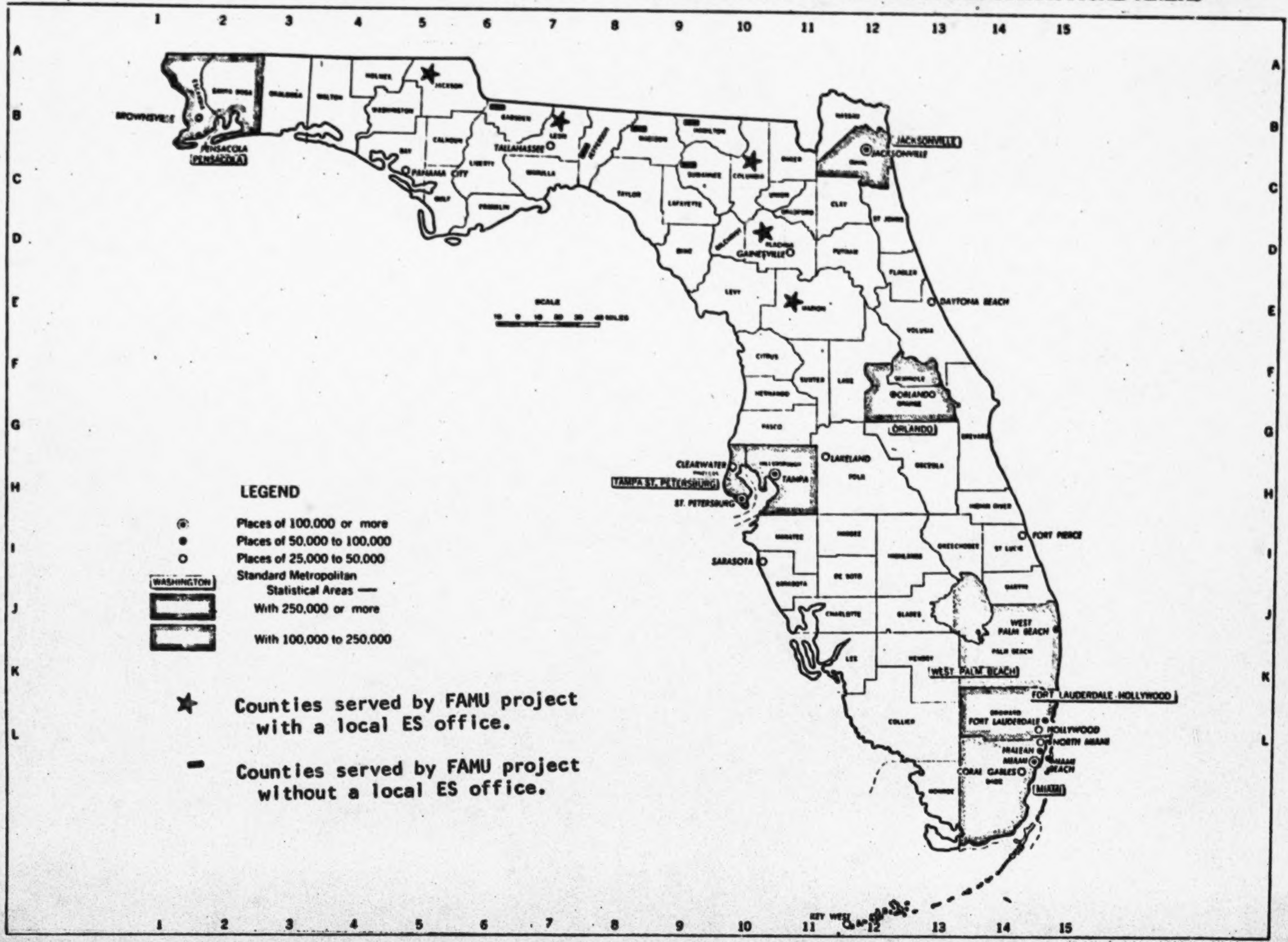
2. That at least 50 per cent of its total nonwhite population be classified as rural.

3. That a significant percentage of this rural population fall between the ages of 18 to 40."

Figure 1, page 14, locates the selected 10 counties. The westernmost point is about 160 miles from the easternmost point and 210 miles from the southernmost point. The map also indicates which counties among the 10 have local offices of the State Employment Service.

All but one of the 10 counties selected meet the first two criteria posed by OMAT. (The exception is Leon County, in which FAMU is located, where almost one-fourth of the applicants to Project Uplift resided.) In the aggregate, the 10 counties do meet the first 2 criteria. Table 1 shows that in 1960 slightly more than half of the total population of the 10 county area and almost two-thirds of the Negro population in these counties did not live in areas classified by the Census as urban.

FLORIDA— COUNTIES, PLACES OF 25,000 OR MORE, AND STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS


LEGEND
Places of 100,000 or more
Places of 50,000 to 100,000
Places of 25,000 to 50,000
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas —
WASHINGTON
With 250,000 or more
With 100,000 to 250,000
Counties served by FAMU project with a local ES office.
Counties served by FAMU project without a local ES office.
SCALE
BROWNSVILLE
PENSACOLA
PANAMA CITY
TALLAHASSEE
JACKSONVILLE
GAINESVILLE
DAYTONA BEACH
ORLANDO
LAKELAND
CLEARWATER
TAMPA
TAMPA-ST. PETERSBURG
ST. PETERSBURG
SARASOTA
FORT PIERCE
WEST PALM BEACH
FORT LAUDERDALE-HOLLYWOOD
FORT LAUDERDALE
HOLLYWOOD
NORTH MIAMI
HIALEAH
MIAMI
MIAMI BEACH
CORAL GABLES
KEY WEST

## TABLE 1

## SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF THE 10 COUNTY RECRUITMENT AREA AND COMPARISONS WITH THE STATE OF FLORIDA

| | 10 County Area | Per Cent 10 Counties of State | Dissimilarity Index[a] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population (1960) | 344,552 | 7 | |
| Per cent urban (1960) | 43 | | -42 |
| Per cent Negro (1960) | 36 | | 100 |
| Population (1940) | 239,306 | 13 | |
| Population growth (1940-1960), per cent | 44 | | -73 |
| Negro Population (1960) | 123,968 | 15 | |
| Per cent rural residents among Negro population (1960) | 62 | | 158 |
| Per cent rural residents ages 20-39 among Negro population (1960) | 20 | | -20 |
| Median family income (1959) | $1,965 | | |
| Civilian Labor Force (1960) | 125,655 | 7 | |
| Per cent employed agricultural civilian labor force (1960) | 13 | | 160 |
| Employed Agricultural Civilian Labor Force (1960) | 16,658 | 19 | |
| Racial composition of employed agricultural civilian labor force, per cent Negro (1960) | 63 | | 23 |
| Civilian Labor Force, Negroes (1960) | 43,870 | 12 | |
| Per cent Negroes in civilian labor force employed in agriculture (1960) | 24 | | 85 |
| Per cent Negroes in civilian labor force unemployed (1960) | 5 | | -29 |
| Per cent Negroes in civilian labor force employed as private household workers, farm or nonfarm laborers (1960) | 53 | | 83 |

[a] Numbers in this column indicate how dissimilar are the 10 county area and the state as a whole with respect to certain characteristics. Zero indicates no dissimilarity: the characteristic is found to the same extent in the two areas. Positive numbers indicate the extent to which the characteristic is found more frequently in the 10 county area; negative numbers indicate the extent to which the characteristic is found less frequently in the 10 county area. The population of the 10 county area, for example, has grown at a rate 73 per cent lower than the population of the state as a whole. The index is calculated for any characteristic from

$$100\left(\frac{\%\ 10\ \text{county area}}{\%\ \text{state as a whole}} - 100\right)$$

The magnitude of all contrasts would have been increased had the 10 county area been compared with the remainder of the state rather than with the state as a whole.

The third criterion is sufficiently imprecise to render a definitive judgment impossible. "Only" 20 per cent of the rural Negroes in the area were between the ages of 20-39. However this datum denotes a potential applicant pool exceeding 25,000 persons.

Table 1 offers additional information to aid in understanding the character of the 10 county area. The first column shows that over one-third of the population of the area were Negro, of whom almost two-thirds lived in rural areas, and of whom one-fourth were employed on farms, representing almost two-thirds of the total employed civilian labor force in agriculture. The 10 county area, now looking at the middle column, accounts for only one-fourteenth of the state's population, but two-fourteenths of the state's Negro population, and almost three-fourteenths of the state's employed agricultural civilian labor force. In other words, in comparison with the state of Florida as a whole, the 10 county area was heavily involved in agriculture for which Negroes, residing predominately in rural areas, were the main source of labor.

The right-hand column of Table 1 provides an index by which to gauge the contrasts between the state as a whole and the 10 county area. An index value of zero indicates no dissimilarity. The 10 county area had a much higher incidence of agricultural employment (index = 160), Negroes residing in rural areas (index = 158), and Negroes (index = 100) than did the state as a whole. The Negroes residing in the 10 county area in contrast to the Negroes in the state as a whole were also more likely to be employed in unskilled jobs generally (index = 83) and especially in agriculture (index = 85). The population of the state as a whole had grown since 1940 at a rate considerably higher (index = -73) than the 10 county area and was more likely to reside in urban areas (index = -42).

Table 2 presents selected characteristics of the agricultural economy of the recruitment area and the state as a whole. In 1959

## TABLE 2

## SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA AND OF THE 10 COUNTY RECRUITMENT AREA

| | State of Florida | 10 County Area | Per Cent 10 Counties of State |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of farms, 1959 | 45,100 | 10,024 | 22 |
| Number of farms of 1,000 acres or larger, 1959 | 1,764 | 339 | 19 |
| Number of farms with sales of $10,000 or more, 1959 | 9,468 | 1,485 | 16 |
| Number of tenant-operated farms, 1959 | 2,661 | 1,091 | 41 |
| Value of crops sold, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $519,230 | $38,148 | 7 |
| Total value of farm products sold, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $700,476 | $68,729 | 10 |
| Median county farm operator level of of living index | 47 | Median county is 29, range for 10 counties is 19 to 42. | |

the former contained about one-fifth of the farms in the state. Using one-fifth as a "standard," the 10 county area contained less than one-fifth of either the larger farms or the farms whose annual sales exceeded $10,000; it accounted for only one-tenth of the total value of farm products sold in the state. Two-fifths--40 per cent--of the tenant-operated farms in the state were located in the 10 county area. Finally, none of the 10 counties had a farm operator level of living index as high as the median for the state.

Although the 10 counties as a group contrast markedly with the state as a whole they are not particularly homogeneous with respect to each other. The range of selected population characteristics drawn from the 1960 Census is wide.

| | Lowest County | Highest County |
|---|---|---|
| Population | 7,700 | 74,200 |
| Per cent urban | - | 65 |
| Per cent nonwhite | 26 | 59 |
| Per cent of nonwhites 25 years of age and older who completed 12 or more years of schooling | 5 | 22 |
| Median family income of nonwhites, 1959 | $1,655 | $2,576 |
| Per cent of Negroes in civilian employed labor force employed in agriculture | 6 | 55 |
| Per cent of total value of farm products sold accounted for by crops | 31 | 84 |
| Retail sales, 1959 (in millions) | $5.1 | $79.6 |
| Total value of farm products sold (in millions) | $2.4 | $15.0 |

The two largest counties, Alachua and Leon, are both seats of large, predominately white, state universities. Each had a population of about 75,000 persons, almost 10 times larger than that of the smallest county of the ten, Hamilton. Twenty years earlier, in 1940, the range in population was much smaller; at that time, the population of the largest county was under 40,000 and the smallest almost 10,000. During the 20 year period ending in 1960, four of the counties lost population, one remained almost stable, and the remaining five increased at rates varying from 20 per cent to over 130 per cent.

Half of the 10 counties contained State Employment Service offices. Tables 3 and 4 provide comparisons of the group of 5 counties in which ES offices are located with the group of 5 counties without ES offices.[1]

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[1] There are a number of alternative modes that could be used to classify the 10 counties so as to form meaningful categories which are, with respect to other characteristics, internally homogeneous and externally variable. Modes of classification perused for this analysis, but

With respect to 1960 population totals, the ES counties were larger and had grown since 1940 at a greater rate. The non-ES counties, as a group, have undergone little population change during the 20 year period. While the non-ES counties contained but one-fourth of the total population of the 10 county area, in 1960 they accounted for one-third of the Negroes and over half of those persons employed on farms. About two-thirds of the Negroes in the 5 non-ES counties during the 1960 Census week were employed in unskilled jobs or unemployed. One of the few characteristics to be related only slightly with the mode of classification is years of school completed by Negroes between the ages of 18 and 24. It is estimated that over 60 per cent of the Negro youth in both sets of counties had neither completed the equivalent of a high school education nor were they enrolled in a school.[2]

Table 4 provides information about the economies of the two sets of counties. Those of the non-ES counties as a group are especially centered around farming and, within this sector, crops predominate.

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not used, include 1960 total population, Negro population, and per cent urban. We selected a mode consistent with the aims of the E & D program: residence in a county in which a local office of the State Employment Service was located. Each of the four classification modes considered correlates highly with the other three characteristics, but the correlation is not perfect. For example, the fourth largest county of the 10, Gadsden County, northwest of Tallahassee, does not contain an ES office; Columbia County, with a population half the size of Gadsden's and the sixth largest county, does have an ES office.

[2] The rate for nonwhites in Florida in 1960 was 59 per cent. It is assumed that the rate is decreasing. National rates were 57 per cent in March, 1962 and 47 per cent in March, 1966. See Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 121 and 158. The estimates for the 10 Florida counties are derived by weighting the nonwhite population aged 18-24 in each county by a constant factor derived from statewide data and by a variable factor reflecting the proportion of nonwhites aged 14-17 enrolled in school in each of the counties. We thank Dr. Louis Conger, Chief of the Education Section, Bureau of the Census, for informally suggesting the procedure.

## TABLE 3

## SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF THE 10 COUNTY RECRUITMENT AREA BY STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE LOCAL OFFICE LOCATION

| | 5 ES Counties | 5 Non-ES Counties | Per Cent, 5 Non-ES Counties of 10 Counties |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population (1960) | 256,200 | 88,312 | 26 |
| Per cent urban (1960) | 46 | 32 | |
| Per cent Negro (1960) | 31 | 51 | |
| Population (1940) | 152,783 | 86,312 | 36 |
| Per cent population growth (1940-1960) | 68 | 2 | |
| Negro Population (1960) | 79,181 | 44,787 | 36 |
| Median family income (1959) | $ 2,085 | $ 1,829 | |
| Per cent rural residents among Negro population (1960) | 55 | 74 | |
| Per cent rural residents ages 29-39 among Negro population (1960) | 20 | 19 | |
| Estimated per cent of Negroes 18-24 years old neither enrolled in school nor high school graduates (1960) | 61 | 68 | |
| Per cent with less than 12 years of schooling among Negroes 25 years of age or older (1960) | 85 | 92 | |
| Civilian Labor Force (1960) | 95,299 | 30,356 | 24 |
| Per cent employed in agriculture (1960) | 8 | 31 | |
| Employed Agricultural Civilian Labor Force (1960) | 7,167 | 9,491 | 57 |
| Racial composition of persons employed in agriculture--per cent Negro (1960) | 50 | 72 | |
| Civilian Labor Force, Negroes (1960) | 28,702 | 15,168 | 35 |
| Per cent employed in agriculture (1960) | 13 | 45 | |
| Per cent unemployed (1960) | 6 | 3 | |
| Per cent employed in unskilled work--private household workers, farm or nonfarm laborers (1960) | 39 | 62 | |

## TABLE 4

### SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE 10 COUNTY RECRUITMENT AREA BY LOCATION OF ES OFFICES

| | 10 Counties | | Per Cent, 5 Counties without ES Office to 10 Counties |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 With ES Offices | 5 Without ES Offices | |
| Number of farms, 1959 | 6,243 | 3,781 | 38 |
| Number of farms of 1,000 acres or larger, 1959 | 215 | 124 | 37 |
| Number of farms with sales of $10,000 or more, 1959 | 797 | 688 | 46 |
| Tenant operated farms, 1959 | 543 | 548 | 50 |
| Value of crops sold, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $18,232 | $19,916 | 52 |
| Value of noncrops sold, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $22,414 | $ 8,167 | 27 |
| Total value of farm products sold, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $40,646 | $28,083 | 41 |
| Retail sales, 1959 (thousands of dollars) | $260,600 | $60,600 | 19 |
| Median county farm operator level of living index | 31 | 26 | N.A. |

We conclude that large numbers of Negroes in the Non-ES counties live and work in an approximation of a society whose economy is based on labor intensive plantation agriculture.

A considerable number of details about the 10 county area have been presented. The immediate goal is to provide a basis for determining how well the recruitment for the FAMU project worked. The less immediate, more fundamental objective is to permit an examination of the raison d'etre of the college-based E & D projects: where those who seek work are scattered and physically distant from those who seek workers, and employment exchanges are located near the latter, how may manpower development services be made available to the scattered seekers of work?

## How the FAMU Project Recruited

The project plan included a recruitment design for each of the counties. Locally based committees, directed by a county coordinator, were to act as the project's intermediaries. The coordinators were to be trained by the project at orientation workshops. To all intents and purposes the outlined procedures were not followed.

While the project felt that it had insufficient time to develop the committees, it also reported to BSSR that it intended to handle recruitment by itself, a decision made in December, 1964. Some need for local assistance was recognized. A list of persons known to the staff in each of the counties was compiled; they tended to be school principals, ministers, and undertakers. They were asked to get prospective trainees to attend mass meetings scheduled in their areas. One or more staff members would address the meeting and take applications. Those attending were asked to distribute applications to others.

The BSSR follow-up survey data suggests that about one-third of those who applied for training met face-to-face with project staff, another third met with a representative who was not a staff member, and the remaining third only corresponded by mail with the project. In two counties announcements were broadcast over radio stations aimed at Negro audiences; 80 per cent of the respondents[3] from those counties cited the radio to BSSR interviewers as a source of their information about the training project. With the exception of the radio, there was no other prominent difference among respondents from each county in their modes of contact with the project.

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[3] Persons who applied to the project, whether they took part in training or not, who were later contacted by BSSR during the follow-up are termed respondents. Those who applied but did not begin training for any reason are termed applicants, those who began training, as trainees.

The project staff evaluated early applications and found a large number of persons to be overqualified for the training or ineligible for allowances. It responded quickly. Their county contacts were called to Tallahassee for an orientation session in which desired trainee characteristics were stressed. The project director also called meetings of applicants accepted for training to emphasize eligibility requirements. As many as 50 prospective trainees were lost; it is presumed that most did not meet the qualifications. The personal characteristics of the individuals recruited will be discussed in another section of this report.

How well did the FAMU project do in recruiting applicants from the two sets of counties? Considering now only numbers of applicants, Table 5 shows that about one-third of the almost 900 applicants to Project Uplift were residents of the non-ES counties.[4] How good a performance is the recruitment of 900 individuals of whom one-third come from very rural, impoverished counties not immediately served by ES offices? Two sources of comparison are available:

1. The experience of another rural E & D project. The South Iowa Manpower Center of the Iowa Employment Security Commission currently is conducting an E & D project aimed at persons residing in a 12 county

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[4] This is a convenient place to present the response rates to the BSSR follow-up survey. Although our interviewers, supervised from Washington, were working over a year after FAMU recruited in these counties, it is suggested that there is not differential accessibility to respondents in each set of counties.

## TABLE 5

### COUNTY OF RESIDENCE OF ALL APPLICANTS TO PROJECT UPLIFT AND RESPONSE RATES IN BSSR FOLLOW-UP SURVEY BY EMPLOYMENT SECURITY OFFICE LOCATION AND BY TRAINEE STATUS

| County | Total, Trainees and Applicants | | Trainees | | | | | Applicants | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Total | | Inter-viewed | | Response Rate | Total | | Sampled | | Inter-viewed | | Response Rate |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | % |
| ES Counties | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alachua | 75 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 89 | 66 | 9 | 21 | 10 | 18 | 11 | 86 |
| Columbia | 74 | 8 | 24 | 13 | 13 | 9 | 54 | 50 | 7 | 19 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 68 |
| Jackson | 76 | 9 | 26 | 14 | 22 | 15 | 85 | 50 | 7 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 63 |
| Leon | 204 | 23 | 42 | 22 | 33 | 23 | 79 | 162 | 23 | 46 | 22 | 39 | 25 | 85 |
| Marion | 88 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 15 | 10 | 100 | 73 | 10 | 21 | 10 | 15 | 9 | 71 |
| Subtotal | 517 | 58 | 116 | 62 | 91 | 62 | 78 | 401 | 57 | 120 | 57 | 93 | 59 | 76 |
| Non-ES Counties | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gadsden | 108 | 12 | 20 | 11 | 19 | 13 | 95 | 88 | 12 | 23 | 11 | 20 | 13 | 87 |
| Hamilton | 63 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 67 | 57 | 8 | 22 | 11 | 16 | 10 | 73 |
| Jefferson | 56 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 86 | 49 | 7 | 11 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 64 |
| Madison | 61 | 7 | 21 | 11 | 20 | 14 | 95 | 40 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 82 |
| Suwannee | 34 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 86 | 27 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 75 |
| Subtotal | 322 | 36 | 61 | 33 | 55 | 38 | 78 | 261 | 37 | 75 | 36 | 58 | 37 | 77 |
| Other Counties | 51 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 6 | 15 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 47 |
| Total | 890 | 100 | 187 | 100 | 146 | 100 | 78 | 703 | 100 | 210 | 100 | 158 | 100 | 75 |

Sources: Project Uplift records and BSSR follow-up.

area of which only 4 have local offices. During January and February, 1967, 1370 "new and renewed" applications were received. The 1370 applicants, recruited within an area in which we do not believe that race is a barrier to application, real or imagined, do not appear to us to be very different from the 900 applicants recruited by FAMU in a locality where race was a barrier to application. Also, the Iowa project reports:

> Only 17.5 per cent of new and renewed applications came from the eight counties in which there is not public employment service.[5]

Thus, we believe that the FAMU project, using its own version of a recruitment program, did quite well in turning out proportionately twice as many persons from non-ES counties as did a State ES sponsored project. It is taken for granted that the two areas, North Florida and South Iowa, differ in respects other than the racial composition of their respective populations. Nevertheless, the FAMU experience looks quite good in comparison to the IESC experience.

2. The experience of the Florida Employment Service. Respondents were asked during the BSSR follow-up interview:

> Before you applied to the training, had you ever been to the public employment office in your area to see about a job?

Responses to this question[6] provide an indication of whether the FAMU project reached persons who had not been previously reached by the SESC. (See Table 6.)

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[5] South Iowa Manpower Center, Iowa Employment Security Commission: Project Bulletin 55, March 13, 1967.

[6] We have no direct measure of response "validity" for this item; it is inferred. The interviewer's instructions for this item stated: "Before we asked about his contacts with the Employment Service with respect to the project. Now we ask more generally about his contacts with the Employment Service. Be sure that the respondent grasps the frame of reference: Employment Service contacts to see about work."

Another indirect, but related basis for inferring response validity is provided by the project's report to BSSR that "all" trainees completed ES Form 511's. About 90 per cent of the trainees interviewed by BSSR reported that the project told them to go to the Employment Service "about getting a job" when they left training.

## TABLE 6

## "REGISTRATION" AT ES OFFICE PRIOR TO APPLICATION BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT APPLICATION
(In Percentages)

| Before Application: | Total N=297 | At Time of Application Resided In: ES County N=184 | Non-ES County N=113 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes, had been to the public employment office | 52 | 71 | 21 |
| No, had never been to the public employment office | 47 | 28 | 79 |
| Don't know, don't remember | 1 | 1 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

In the ES counties Project Uplift recruited persons of whom nearly three-fourths reported that they had been ES clients at some time in the past. But in the non-ES counties the project was very successful; its applicant pool was not an ES clientele. Explanations of differential use of ES services by the respondents will be discussed in another section of this report.

It would appear, then, that FAMU produced a fairly good recruitment outcome in the non-ES counties.

### Characteristics of the Applicant Pool

Statistical descriptions of the applicant pools in each set of counties derived from the BSSR follow-up are given in Table 7. The applicant pools for the two sets of counties are much more similar than might be expected from the 1960 Census data given previously in Table 3.

## TABLE 7

## SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS IN BSSR FOLLOW-UP SURVEY BY TRAINEE STATUS AND COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT TIME OF APPLICATION

| | Lived In County With ES | | | Lived In County Without ES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Trainee | Applicant | Total | Trainee | Applicant |
| A. Number of Respondents | (184) | (91) | (93) | (113) | (55) | (58) |
| B. Per Cent Trainees | 49 | - | - | 49 | - | - |
| C. Per Cent Men | 24 | 25 | 23 | 30 | 20 | 40 |
| D. Age: | | | | | | |
| Per cent under 22 years old | 37% | 30% | 44% | 37% | 24% | 50% |
| Per cent 22-25 years | 24 | 27 | 20 | 20 | 24 | 17 |
| Per cent 26-35 years | 30 | 32 | 28 | 28 | 36 | 21 |
| Per cent 36 years or older | 9 | 11 | 8 | 12 | 16 | 9 |
| Not ascertained | - | - | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| E. Education: Per cent with less than 12 years of schooling | 41 | 36 | 46 | 50 | 45 | 53 |
| F. Per Cent Married | 30 | 24 | 35 | 33 | 29 | 36 |
| G. Per Cent Claiming Head of Household Status | 41 | 55 | 27 | 42 | 51 | 33 |
| H. Household Income During Year Preceeding Application: | | | | | | |
| Less than $1,500 | 24% | 26% | 23% | 27% | 38% | 16% |
| $1,500-$2,999 | 22 | 27 | 17 | 33 | 29 | 36 |
| $3,000 and over | 27 | 20 | 34 | 19 | 13 | 26 |
| Don't know | 27 | 27 | 26 | 21 | 20 | 22 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| I. Out of Work During Year Preceeding Application: | | | | | | |
| No | 33% | 37% | 29% | 33% | 33% | 33% |
| Yes, less than 1 month | 4 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| 1-3 months | 20 | 19 | 20 | 12 | 7 | 14 |
| 3-6 months | 15 | 9 | 22 | 22 | 27 | 10 |
| More than 6 months | 22 | 22 | 22 | 27 | 24 | 29 |
| Irregularly | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Not ascertained | 5 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 11 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| J. Primary Occupation Before Application: | | | | | | |
| Skilled | 3% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Semiskilled | 4 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 9 | 7 |
| Unskilled | 15 | 17 | 13 | 11 | 15 | 7 |
| All farm (owner, operator, tenant, laborer) | 11 | 9 | 14 | 24 | 22 | 26 |
| Not classifiable above | 67 | 68 | 67 | 55 | 52 | 58 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

TABLE 7--Continued

| | Lived In County With ES | | | Lived In County Without ES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Trainee | Applicant | Total | Trainee | Applicant |
| White-collar | 5% | 7% | 4% | 6% | 9% | 3% |
| Blue-collar | 68 | 70 | 66 | 44 | 53 | 36 |
| All farm | 11 | 9 | 14 | 24 | 22 | 26 |
| Not classifiable above | 16 | 14 | 16 | 26 | 16 | 35 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| K. Labor Force Status Before Application: | | | | | | |
| Per cent who never held a "full-time job" | 13 | 10 | 15 | 22 | 16 | 28 |
| L. "Do you think that the people who work in the public employment office in your area would try to help you get a job just as much as they would try to help anyone else? | | | | | | |
| Yes, just as much | 63% | 65% | 61% | 50% | 44% | 57% |
| No, not just as much | 27 | 30 | 24 | 33 | 45 | 21 |
| Don't know | 10 | 5 | 15 | 17 | 11 | 22 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

The project appears to have recruited mainly unmarried young women of whom more than half were high school graduates. Men are noticeably underrepresented in the pools. The low incidence of farm workers is somewhat surprising. All respondents were Negro; supposedly several white persons applied for training but did not become trainees.

Those who became trainees[7] do differ from those who did not. In both sets of counties the trainees were older, tended to come from households with lower incomes, more frequently considered themselves to be heads of households, reported less frequently that they had never held a full-time job, and were more highly educated. On all criteria mentioned but the last, the trainees were more disadvantaged than the applicants.

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[7] The project staff reports that 40 or more persons accepted as trainees did not begin training. Some were self-selected nontrainees. Another contributing factor was the undependability of the mails as the media for notification.

Though the selected trainees were generally among the most disadvantaged, it cannot be concluded that the group was overqualified for the curriculum to be offered and its approved duration. There would have been little to recommend training severely disadvantaged persons for 12 weeks to become sales persons or for 24 weeks to become clerk-typists, although the design of the project may be interpreted as prescribing these assignments. The trainees may be thought of as the student body of a community college--a vocational school offering instruction in job skills and basic education at pre-high school, high school, and post-high school levels.

## III. HOW THE PROJECT WAS CONDUCTED

The project staff itself, to a considerable extent, exercised the functions allocated by the project plan to other groups and agencies. There were many reasons for this.

First, in some instances, other groups or agencies failed to produce what the plan expected from them. FAMU, for example, did not provide on-campus housing for trainees so the project leased private, in-town accommodations which it operated.

Other agencies thought themselves unable to provide anticipated services under circumstances which had not been anticipated. The FES, for example, did not provide the two full-time job developers to work with the project although up to $15,000 was provided in the contract for this purpose. FES staff told us that after the contract was funded they received word from Washington that sufficient personnel were already available in Florida to perform this function without the additional funds. FES says offices in these counties were understaffed and that the money was needed if the service was to be provided.

Another reason for centralized project operation was that only FAMU staff on leave were available to the project; State regulations forbid the issuance of two salary checks to the same individual. A trained remedial reading teacher on the FAMU faculty, for instance, was not available to the project unless she donated her services.

In addition, the project had to defend itself against antagonists. As its means of defense, it chose to exclude the potential opposition from project operations completely. The Home Economics School at FAMU, for example, threatened to withdraw its facilities from the project. The project then deleted most of the training occupations scheduled to use this equipment and established new facilities for those not deleted.

Finally, we believe the project staff simply wanted to run its own show. Recruitment, as mentioned in an earlier section of this report, was to be carried out by county committees under the supervision of project staff. In practice, the staff narrowed the recruitment role of the county committees to serving as communications media. A State level FES person who worked closely with the project told the BSSR Study Team: "The local offices, at the request of the FES, recruited for the FAMU program. Then the project staff (itself) recruited and paid little attention to those recruited by the local offices." To cite other illustrations which indicate its preference to go it alone, the project also processed

FES forms, including the weekly form 915 (certification for training allowance), and did not include on its staff two persons called for in its OMAT contract: Assistant Director-Coordinator (never filled) and Counseling Coordinator (the man was fired and not replaced).

The project was almost completely separated from its host institution. Only one FAMU faculty member, placed on leave, served on the project as its Director. We believe that the suggestion to the college to externalize the project in this way, to staff it only with faculty on leave, may have come from OMAT. This same arrangement was found, with one exception, at all the other college-based E & D projects. It has the virtue of increasing temporarily a faculty member's salary; as a consequence, the position of Project Director is made more attractive to some persons. We do not see any other way in which this arrangement may have benefited OMAT. Rather, the reverse may be true: the arrangement may have created conditions inimical to the situations OMAT wished to stimulate. The participation of the FAMU community was limited to the one faculty member assigned to the project, and his personal friends who informally advised him. There seemed to have been little reason, given this financial arrangement, for the university to have extended itself and its resources to a project from which the institution as a whole could not benefit. The FAMU E & D project suffered because its staff did not include the educational specialists or additional administrators who could have been found within the FAMU community. Instead, the project utilized the services of the basic education consultant suggested by OMAT and other consultants who were faculty members from the University of Florida and Florida State University.[8]

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[8] The test research program was carried out by FSU faculty who had previously incorporated themselves as an independent research concern.

It is very likely, we believe, that some of the antagonisms and indifference toward the project in the FAMU community stemmed from the salary arrangements. We do not know why the teaching loads of certain members of the FAMU faculty were not reduced to enable their participation in the project on a part-time basis--or whether it would even have been possible to do so.

How did the project, and, by implication, the trainees, suffer from the way in which it was conducted? Any list must include the following observations:

1. no continuous educational direction and judgment were available (on one occasion two outside educational consultants were called in, but gave contradictory advice);

2. the counseling program, whether individual or group, vocational or personal, was neither coordinated nor continuous;

3. project staff was inappropriately utilized: e.g., the project's one job development specialist had other responsibilities including group vocational counseling and certification of weekly training allowances; and,

4. the project administration was inconsistent, as reflected both in its rigidities and its occasional ad hoc decisions. The job development specialist was told that money was not available for his travel as it had been spent. Three and one-half months later, after 2 or more classes had graduated, it was made available. Ad hoc decisions included deletion of vocational counseling, "the world of work," from the training.

It must also be acknowledged that the project administration had a rich ability to be alternately critical of and responsive to the results of its lack of educational and administrative competence. The Project Director was keenly perceptive of trouble as it arose and, to our knowledge, never hesitated to call for help. His critical ability, of course, was not a substitute for a full complement of competent administrators and specialists.

The opening sections of this report detail a procedure which we believe would more likely arouse professional motivations and aspirations, rather than monetary, positional, and "merely" humanitarian aspirations, as the raison d'etre for faculty involvement in an E & D project.

## Recruitment

The project's recruitment procedures have been described earlier. The trainees tended to be young, unmarried, female high school graduates. The project plan called for an eventual trainee population of 300 persons; the project trained only 187. We have noted that the characteristics of the trainees, as a group, do not coincide with the modal characteristics of the 1960 adult Negro population in the recruitment area.

## Counseling

The total counseling program of the project was an on-again, off-again affair. It was never intensive or extensive. In their original form the group counseling sessions were centered around marriage, birth control, and religion. One of the counselors noted what she considered to be the two major concerns of the trainees: Can I find a job when my training is finished? and, How can I prevent having children when I do not want them? The issues of birth control, marriage and religion were considered by the project's administration to be controversial and the sessions were dropped from the total program.

When two of the graduates of the first training class, home attendants, refused to accept jobs developed for them by the project, consultants were called in.[9] Scheduled counseling sessions were reintroduced, but were limited to work adjustment. The job development specialist became one of the "instructors" for the "world of work" program.

The county coordinators or volunteers were also used by the project as adjuncts to the counseling program. According to the project, the volunteers helped to obtain child care services for trainees, encouraged trainees visiting their homes on weekends to return to the project on Monday, and interceded on the behalf of trainees with employers or creditors.

## Basic Education

The project utilized "The System for Success" as the basis for its basic education program. The instructors were to undergo a two-day orientation session on the use of the materials. Only some did so. All appear to have been mainly on their own while training was in progress.

Project Uplift's final report to OMPER provides considerable detail on the outcomes of the basic education program as indicated by reading test scores.

The basic education teachers reported to BSSR their observations and experiences with the curriculum:

1. by the end of the course, almost all graduates were able to read from newspapers and popular magazines;
2. 10 weeks of training was not sufficient to allow trainees to reach an acceptable level of competence;
3. for unknown reasons, less able trainees made more progress in math than in reading;
4. the basic materials had to be heavily supplemented.

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[9] One consultant, referred by OMAT, suggested that the "world of work" be introduced into the skill training. The other consultant urged its incorporation into basic education. Each was a specialist in the area he felt could not be diluted or shortened.

BSSR observed that not all the teachers were qualified for their assignments. Although all three full-time basic education teachers had elementary school teaching experience and one had studied the teaching of reading, another derogated trainees, calling them "dumb" to their faces, in her attempts to encourage them. Direction and coordination of the basic education program seem to have been insufficient.

## Skill Training

The project offered instruction in eight occupational areas. These were selected in concert by the Project Director and the State MDTA supervisor and based upon state-wide estimates of demand. Drafting and automobile mechanics had been preferred but were not offered because of insufficient time for training. Other preferred training occupations were not offered because they required facilities under the control of the antagonistic Agriculture and Home Economics schools at FAMU.

The areas in which instruction was offered are as follows:[10]

| | |
|---|---|
| Auto service station operator | 12 weeks |
| Cook | 24 weeks |
| Electrical appliance repairman | 24 weeks |
| General clerk | 24 weeks |
| General sales | 12 weeks |
| Home attendant | 10 weeks |
| Tailoring | 24 weeks |
| Upholsterer | 24 weeks |

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[10] Project Uplift II offers training for up to one year. The Project Director later told us he was influenced by BSSR to request a longer period for training.

The BSSR Study Team rated the instruction in sales to be outstanding and in the other areas from adequate to mediocre. Its report concluded: "Inadequate coordination and surveillance prevented the qualities of a superior course from spilling over into mediocre courses."

Trainees were allowed to choose their own training occupation, although the project plan included an elaborate assignment design based upon performance on intelligence and reading tests. The design was not followed by the project; its final report to OMPER describes how closely the actual trainee assignments matched the plans.

## Testing

Trainees who were tested were, in the opinion of the project staff, overtested, although BSSR estimates that as many as a fourth of the 132 trainees who began training in March, 1965, were not tested at all. Tests had been administered earlier to applicants, some of whom the project did not accept and others who did not report for training. Persons who applied after these testing sessions had been completed were not tested. The project's final report to OMPER provides an analysis of the test results.

## Staffing

The Project Director, upon approval of the OMAT contract, began to negotiate with the State Department of Vocational Education and to hire a staff. He was the only FAMU faculty member on the project payroll. His line in the FAMU instructional budget has remained open, but recently he has been asked to "make up his mind" either to go back to his position or to have it filled by someone else. The first staff members to be hired included the job development specialist and the project's administrative assistant, both of whom had earlier committed themselves to the project. The project plan provided sufficient staff, but the key positions of training coordinator and counseling coordinator were not filled. The staffing may otherwise have been adequate to provide quality training. The project had little difficulty, if any, in recruiting instructors; requirements are minimal in Florida for part-time teaching certification.

## Facilities

The project was continually plagued by a lack of facilities and equipment. Campus dormitory facilities were not available. Potential training facilities operated by Home Economics were not available. Allotments of classroom space on campus were not permanent; classes were shifted from building to building. In addition, equipment was generally late in arriving although orders were placed through Florida State University which reportedly was able to process them more quickly.

## Residence in Training

Project Uplift was one of the comprehensive E & D projects which included a residential feature. Over half of the enrolled trainees resided during the week in quarters provided by the project. It will be recalled that FAMU did not make available to the project the expected dormitory space. The project staff leased a hotel in town to accommodate the women trainees and boarding houses, across the street from the FAMU campus, for the men. The women were transported in busses to and from campus. All meals were eaten on campus.

Administratively, the project developed a complex and time consuming set of procedures to deal with the finances for these arrangements. State warrants for training, transportation and subsistence allowances were sent to the project each week. The project's calculation of its expenses for food, housing, laundry, health care, buses, etc. was deducted and checks to reflect only training and transportation allowances were written on the project's own bank account.[11] The project accountant, probably with the assistance of the project's job developer and clerical staff, was occupied with these financial procedures from Thursday afternoon through Friday evening of each week.

It is not evident, however, that the project had alternatives to these arrangements and procedures. It is probable that the cost of leasing private accommodations was no greater than had university dormitory space been available. The project's improvisations clearly indicate that it is possible and economically feasible to provide residential accommodations for 100 or more trainees in a city as small as Tallahassee. Simplified procedures to finance accommodations would be advisable; perhaps projects ought to have the option to receive directly from the State rather than through the trainees the money to cover the costs of subsistence. In any case, this type of residential arrangement may be promising in the absence of institutional facilities.

On this issue, some inferences about the significance of the residential feature of the project may be drawn from the data collected in the follow-up study concerning the trainees' satisfaction with the whole training experience. Underlying the analysis is our assumption that trainees experience residence and commuting in a larger educational and social context. In the BSSR survey, 91 residents and 51 commuters were interviewed.

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[11] At one time during the project, civil rights activists attempted to convince the trainees that they were not receiving all monies due them. The project denies the allegation. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the project staff and the civil rights organizations were not mutually sympathetic.

First, fewer interviewed residents than interviewed commuters assessed Project Uplift as "working out well." The finding is clearly a function of the length of time during which the trainee was enrolled. Trainees in residence for 24 weeks were only a little less favorable than commuters in training for the same length of time. The sole difference is found for trainees in residence for one of the shorter courses, lasting only 10 or 12 weeks. Of them, fewer than half assessed the training as "working out well." The data are summarized in Table 8.

TABLE 8

TRAINEES' FAVORABLE EVALUATIONS OF PROJECT UPLIFT
BY RESIDENCE IN TRAINING AND DURATION OF COURSE;
PER CENT WHO SAID PROJECT UPLIFT "WORKED OUT WELL"

| | Total | | Residents | | Commuters | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Total | 146 | 68 | 91 | 62 | 51 | 78 |
| Long Course (24 weeks) | 78 | 76 | 52 | 73 | 26 | 81 |
| Short Course (10 or 12 weeks) | 64 | 58 | 39 | 46 | 25 | 78 |

The short courses were general sales, home attendant, and auto service station operator. Most general sales trainees did not give the project a good rating; only 46 per cent rated the project as "working out well." Residence was highly related to their assessment: only a third of the general sales trainees in residence, as compared with 70 per cent of the commuters, gave the favorable rating. A similar finding of much smaller magnitude is found for the home attendant trainees; two-thirds of the residents, compared with over 80 per cent of the commuters, gave the project a favorable rating. We found also that the general sales and home attendant trainees who were high school graduates were more negatively inclined toward the project. The data are summarized in Table 9.

## TABLE 9

## ASSESSMENTS OF PROJECT UPLIFT AS "WORKING OUT WELL" FOR GENERAL SALES AND HOME ATTENDANT TRAINEES BY RESIDENCE IN TRAINING AND BY EDUCATION

| | Total | | Residents | | Commuters | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Total, General Sales and Home Attendant: | 59 | 59 | 36 | 47 | 22 | 77 |
| Less than 12 years of schooling | 27 | 74 | 14 | 64 | 13 | 85 |
| 12 or more years of schooling | 31 | 45 | 22 | 36 | 9 | 67 |
| General Sales: | 30 | 46 | 19 | 32 | 10 | 70 |
| Less than 12 years of schooling | (7)[a] | (57) | (4) | (25) | (3) | (100) |
| 12 or more years of schooling | 22 | 41 | 15 | 33 | (7) | (57) |
| Home Attendant: | 29 | 72 | 17 | 65 | 12 | 83 |
| Less than 12 years of schooling | 20 | 80 | 10 | 80 | 10 | 80 |
| 12 or more years of schooling | (9) | (56) | (7) | (43) | (2) | (100) |

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[a] The data in brackets are provided as an illustration of the "facts" to be explained. They are not, of course, statistically sound bases for establishing facts.

The excellence of training offered in general sales was attested to by the Project Director and by the BSSR Study Team; we accept their judgment. The instructor of the course, however, the only white instructor on the project's staff, may well have irritated his trainees. He persisted with successive groups of trainees in expressing his racial beliefs. Some trainees did complain to their counselors.[12] The interpretation of the several findings for the general sales trainees is that the instructor most offended the high school graduates to whom, we speculate, racial stereotypes of "Negro undependability," etc. represented a threat to attempts to maintain an image of themselves as superior to the uneducated Negro. The significance of residence for this group was that living together provided the opportunity to share with each other their grievances and, through sharing, to nurture them. We do not believe that residence influenced the satisfaction with training of this group of trainees in any other ways.

The high school graduates who were in training as home attendants also gave the training a disproportionately negative evaluation. In this instance, we believe that living in the residence units had the effect of raising their aspirations. Our guess is that association with other trainees who were high school graduates suggested to these women that, although their training as home attendants was adequate, it was not adequate to develop or expand their own potentialities. Living with other trainees may have provided these women with the opportunity to evaluate their training occupation, which they had selected, against their self-assessed capabilities. The result was dissatisfaction with the training. We infer that the home attendant trainees who commuted and those with less schooling were relatively isolated from these pressures.

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[12] We do not know whether the Project Director took action against the instructor; if he did, it was ineffective.

The general sales trainees, in contrast, were "acting out" in the residence units pressures emanating from the outside, in this case, the classroom. The same explanation may apply to the findings presented in Table 10 with respect to residence effects for those enrolled in the 24-week courses.

TABLE 10

FAVORABLE ASSESSMENTS OF PROJECT UPLIFT BY RESIDENCE IN TRAINING, AGE, AND EDUCATION ("LONG" COURSES ONLY); PER CENT WHO SAID PROJECT "WORKED OUT WELL"

| | Total | | Resident | | Commuters | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Total | 78 | 76 | 52 | 73 | 26 | 81 |
| Under 26: | 46 | 83 | 32 | 78 | 14 | 93 |
| 12 or more years of schooling | 35 | 77 | 26 | 73 | 9 | 89 |
| Less than 12 years of schooling | 11 | 100 | 6 | 100 | 5 | 100 |
| 26 and Over: | 32 | 66 | 20 | 65 | 12 | 67 |
| 12 or more years of schooling | 17 | 76 | 11 | 73 | 6 | 83 |
| Less than 12 years of schooling | 15 | 53 | 9 | 56 | 6 | 50 |

That is, resident trainees who were high school graduates were much less favorable toward the project than were the other trainees under 26 years of age. The former group contained the several trainees who aspired to become college students. The project staff attempted to dissuade them from their goal; the trainees were appealed to on the grounds of responsibility to the project:

> (These trainees') . . . whole emphasis is college. Now, this is all well and good as far as we are concerned and may be this is the best thing for them, but I have attempted to point out to them one basic fact, that when they came here we had made and they had made one basic commitment. Their reason for coming here was for training for employment and that we feel that they must carry out this unwritten commitment to the best of their ability.[13]

We speculate that the greater dissatisfaction among the younger, more educated trainees-in-residence derives from their dialogue with the project staff relating to their aspirations. It should be noted that of the 20 other trainees under 26 years of age, 19 gave the project a favorable rating.

Among trainees over 25 years of age, residents and commuters were equally favorable toward the project.

We looked also at the trainees' own assessments of the benefits to them of basic education. Statistically, we compared residents and commuters, holding constant both length of course and prior years of schooling. We found that the commuter subgroups generally found more specific benefits such as writing better, doing math better, and reading faster or better, but no clear pattern emerged. After collating the several findings and their interpretations, we concluded that residence in training appears to bear no intrinsic relation to trainee satisfaction. Instead, we believe that the resident experience at this project offered opportunities for social intercourse which, in the abstract, may have resulted in positive as well as in negative attitudes toward the training. The critical elements affecting satisfaction with training are to be found in the reasonable and unreasonable demands, restrictions, requests, or indignities expressed by counselors, teachers, or other project staff to the trainees.

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[13] BSSR interview with Project Director.

Whatever may be the surplus benefits accruing to the trainees from their experience in residence, it is very clear that the residential facilities will be used primarily by those whose homes are at a distance from the training site. We crudely measured distance by a scale based on the number of counties between Tallahassee, located in Leon County, and trainees' home counties. Ninety per cent or more of the trainees from each of the counties at least two removed from Leon County were trainees-in-residence; almost half of the trainees-in-residence came from a county three or more counties removed from Leon. (See Table 11.)

TABLE 11

RESIDENCE IN TRAINING BY DISTANCE FROM TALLAHASSEE OF HOME COUNTY
(In Percentages)

| Residential Status | Distance[a] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0<br>N=33 | 1<br>N=25 | 2<br>N=42 | 3<br>N=10 | 4<br>N=13 | 5<br>N=8 | 6<br>N=15 |
| Per cent trainees-in-residence | 9 | 24 | 90 | 90 | 100 | 100 | 93 |
| Per cent commuters | 91 | 72 | 5 | 10 | - | - | - |
| Per cent status not ascertained | - | 4 | 5 | - | - | - | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a] See the text above for the definition of distance from Tallahassee.

The conclusion would seem to be that training projects which offer residential facilities can attract trainees who are widely scattered and live at some distance from the training site. Whether the residential experience will enrich the training depends upon the content of the training itself.

## Job Development

The BSSR Study Team rated the project's one job development specialist as extremely well qualified because of his familiarity with the FES based on previous job experience there. The job development program of the project, however, was somewhat less than adequate. We have mentioned, above, that travel funds were not made available to the job developer for several months. Specifically, he was reimbursed in July for travel in March.

The project plan called for trainees to be motivated to ". . . seek out jobs primarily by migrating elsewhere." The project's major effort in developing jobs "elsewhere" was the mailing to its trainees of a list of job openings in other parts of Florida. In the 10 county recruitment area the project sent letters to several hundred employers, but there was a noticeable lack of response. Face-to-face visits with employers were limited in the main to three counties; less than 60 visits were made by August, 1965. In addition, the project completed ES Form 511's for its trainees. General clerk trainees took Federal and State examinations. The project staff reported to us that no trainee passed the Federal Civil Service Examination, while "about half" passed the State merit examination.

In the "Job Openings Information" sent to trainees, the project staff displayed a realistic, but passive approach to job development. Its advice to trainees included this comment:

> While we like to encourage you to take advantage of this information, however, we strongly advise you not to move to a new town unless you have enough money to care for your room and board for at least two (2) weeks should you be unable to get the job.

The passive approach accomplished very little. At the time they were sought by a BSSR interviewer in the spring of 1966, only 39 of the 187 trainees, about 20 per cent, were located outside of the 10-county recruitment area. Of the 39, 10 were in the Greater Tampa area, 4 in the Miami area, 9 in other states, 5 in military service and 1 in the Job Corps. The remaining 10 were scattered throughout Florida. It seems apparent that trainees from a relatively short-term program, left to job hunt on their own, without additional financial resources or encouragment, will tend to stay in their home areas.

## Afterthought on Meeting the Training Needs of Trainees

A couple of Project Uplift's trainees wanted to go to college; the Project Director, a college professor, believed they had the ability to make it. Another handful of trainees went into military service. One went into the Job Corps. Without more information about their aspirations we may only conjecture as to additional goals or stations to which Project Uplift trainees may have aspired. The trainees are stay-behinds--young, high school graduates who had not emigrated from their home area which offered them so little hope or promise. Numerous and accessible as they may be in the 10 county North Florida area, these young adults are atypical of the adult, rural Negro population of the area. Yet, they do have training needs.

Their status as high school graduates may only slightly decrease their status as economically disadvantaged. Many or most were not heads of households as that status is pictured in the minds of State officials who follow Internal Revenue definitions. Project Uplift, in fact, qualified these trainees for training allowances by defining them as heads of families.

Not recruited from the 10 counties by Project Uplift were the, figuratively speaking, indentured. They are older, had completed much less schooling, and represent the bulk of the agricultural labor supply. The Project Director has told us, recently, that Project Uplift II, a subsequent E & D project at FAMU, included many more persons who meet this description. Very significantly, he reported that the project was not prepared by its Project Uplift I experience to deal with all of the problems presented by this new population of trainees. His report suggests to us that training institutions may find that their experience with one trainee population may not generalize to another trainee population.

An institution, a facility, a school, is needed to serve the varied needs of adult rural Negroes. It is not evident to BSSR that existing schools are either able or willing to provide the range of curriculum at the several levels of instruction, with appropriate counseling and follow-up services, indicated by Project Uplift to be necessary. A broad range of training occupations is recommended, from the technician level "down" to more menial kinds of jobs. The basic education program must be pegged to the variations in trainee competence and literacy. If the training experience is "genuine", e.g., meaningful, relevant, one which stimulates aspirations, it must be geared to the training needs of the trainees. College preparation, one form of manpower development, may be or become a need of some, skill training for others, and only basic education classes for still others. The training needs of the unemployed and underemployed rural Negro population in this area are much broader than those served by an E & D program aimed solely at the most disadvantaged segments of the population.

The needed facility must provide for its students channels through which their goals can be approached. Where jobs are the goal, and they are not available in the local area, the institution must provide some means to bring the trainee to where the jobs are. It may mean driving the student 200 miles, one-way, for a job interview and driving him there again to begin work. It could mean bussing down a number of students. It could mean developing cooperative relations with a sister institution located where the jobs are, which will take in and place those from the rural area after they have completed their initial training. Where college becomes the trainee's goal, the institution must prepare the trainee for college and, if necessary, make arrangements which will effect his enrollment. The needed facility, then, would offer instruction at below high school, high school, and post-high school levels. Residential facilities are a must to attract potential trainees from sparsely populated distant places.

The several outcomes of training, of manpower development, would appear to be similar to the outcomes of the Federally sponsored vocational education program. The follow-up reports of the states to the U. S. Office of Education, fiscal year 1965, reveal that about a fourth of the over 400,000 students enrolled in Federally reimbursed vocational programs continued school full-time after completion of the program, another 6 per cent entered the armed forces, and an additional 4 per cent or so were not in the labor force for other reasons. After completion of training, in other words, over a third of the students who completed a Federally reimbursed vocational education course were not in the labor force. This degree of flexibility, we believe, should be available to trainees in E & D programs under the MDTA if the program is to meet their training needs.

## IV. THE EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES OF PROJECT UPLIFT

### Short-Run Outcomes

Fewer than half of the trainees reported to BSSR interviewers that they were placed on a job when they left training. Reported placements varied by training occupation: about 60 per cent of those trained as auto service station operators, cooks, and electrical appliance repairmen reported placements, but less than 40 per cent of the general sales, tailoring, and upholstery trainees. With few exceptions, more placements resulted from job leads developed by the trainees themselves than from leads developed by the project or the ES. The project's job development program, in other words, did no better than the ES. The data are given in Table 12.

TABLE 12

PLACEMENT RATES OF PROJECT UPLIFT TRAINEES BY TRAINING OCCUPATION AND JOB DEVELOPMENT SOURCE
(In Percentages)

| Training Occupation | Number | Trainees Reporting a Placement[a] | Trainees Reporting Placements from Job Leads Developed by: | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Project Uplift | Employment Service | Self |
| Total | (146) | 44 | 14 | 16 | 28 |
| Auto service station operator | (6) | 67 | - | 33 | 50 |
| Cook | (12) | 58 | 25 | 8 | 50 |
| Electrical appliance repair | (8) | 62 | - | 63 | 38 |
| General clerk | (32) | 47 | 13 | 3 | 34 |
| General sales | (28) | 32 | 18 | 11 | 11 |
| Home attendant | (29) | 41 | 14 | 17 | 26 |
| Tailor | (18) | 39 | 11 | 22 | 28 |
| Upholsterer | (13) | 38 | 15 | 15 | 15 |

[a] Detail will not necessarily sum to the placement total because some trainees reported placements through 2 or 3 sources.

These findings are not a complete measure of the "effectiveness" of job development agents because they do not reflect the extent to which trainees received job leads and followed up on them. When placement rates are recomputed to reflect both job development activity by the project, ES and the trainees and trainee follow-up, as is shown in Tables 13 and 14, job leads developed by the project are found to have led to proportionately more placements than did those found by either the ES or the trainees. Fewer trainees in a short course--general sales, home attendant, and auto service station operator--reported that the project developed job leads for them. Home attendant trainees were least likely to follow up on job leads developed by the project, yet these trainees were most likely to be placed when they did; cooks also had a high rate of placement.

No placements resulted for auto service station operators and electrical appliance repairmen. Looking only at these extremes it would appear that the project was most effective for the traditional Negro jobs, and, perhaps, was least effective in developing jobs across the color line. It should be noted that the low rate of follow-up by home attendant trainees may reflect the unattractiveness of the jobs developed for them: monthly wages averaged less than $130. The data are summarized in Table 13.

The Employment Service, to which about 90 per cent of the trainees remembered being referred by the project, was visited by about 70 per cent. Auto service station operators and electrical appliance repairmen reported the highest rate of visits, and cooks and home attendants the lowest rates. Placements, for those who went to ES to look for a job, were highest for the electrical appliance repair trainees and lowest for general sales.

### TABLE 13

### EFFECTIVE PLACEMENT RATES[a] FOR PROJECT UPLIFT JOB DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY BY TRAINING OCCUPATION
(In Percentages)

| Training Occupation | Number | Reported Job Leads From Project | Followed-Up On Job Leads | "Effectiveness":[a] Reported a Placement from Follow-Up |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | (146) | 72 | 56 | 35 |
| Auto service station operator | (6) | 50 | 66 | - |
| Cook | (12) | 83 | 51 | 60 |
| Electrical appliance repair | (8) | 88 | 57 | - |
| General clerk | (32) | 72 | 65 | 28 |
| General sales | (28) | 57 | 75 | 42 |
| Home attendant | (29) | 62 | 34 | 67 |
| Tailor | (18) | 89 | 56 | 22 |
| Upholsterer | (13) | 85 | 54 | 33 |

[a] The "effectiveness" rate is based upon the number of trainees who both received a job lead and followed up on it.

The significance of the ES for Negroes in North Florida is considered in the next section of this report. Effectiveness data for the ES are summarized in Table 14.

Eighty per cent or more of the trainees in every skill area reported seeking jobs on their own. Of these, the trainees' own job searches were most effective for cooks and auto service station operators and least effective for general sales and upholsterers. These data are also summarized in Table 14.

## TABLE 14

## EFFECTIVE PLACEMENT RATES FOR EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND TRAINEES' OWN JOB SEARCH OF PROJECT UPLIFT TRAINEES BY TRAINING OCCUPATIONS
(In Percentages)

| Training Occupation | Number | Jobs Developed By: Employment Service | | Jobs Developed By: Own Job Search | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Reported Going to ES | Reported a Placement From Going to ES[a] | Reported Own Job Search | Reported a Placement From own Job Search[a] |
| Total | (146) | 72 | 22 | 90 | 31 |
| Auto service station operator | (6) | 100 | 33 | 100 | 50 |
| Cook | (12) | 58 | 14 | 83 | 60 |
| Electrical appliance repair | (8) | 100 | 63 | 100 | 38 |
| General clerk | (32) | 69 | 4 | 97 | 35 |
| General sales | (28) | 71 | 15 | 86 | 13 |
| Home attendant | (29) | 59 | 29 | 83 | 31 |
| Tailor | (18) | 79 | 28 | 89 | 31 |
| Upholsterer | (13) | 85 | 18 | 92 | 16 |

[a] These columns represent "effectiveness" rates and are based respectively on the numbers who reported going to ES and who conducted their own job search.

We looked also into the more general relations of placement to being given job leads and trainee follow-up. Trainees who were given job leads by the project in addition to being referred to ES reported only slightly more placement (47%) than those who reported ES referral only (36%). While trainees who reported no follow-up or job search of their own reported no placement (a total of 15 trainees of whom 13 were women), placement is not related to either the extensity (the number of sources--project, ES, self--whose job leads were followed up) or the intensity (the number of job leads followed up) of trainee job search effort. In this area of North Florida there would appear to be inherent limitations to the placement possibilities for trainees who are not aggressively represented by an intermediary, in this context, their E & D project.

Earlier in this report we found that county of residence was related to prior use of the ES to seek work. In this section we have found that the highest placement rates characterized three training occupations in which men tended to be the trainees. Looking further into the relations of placement to county of residence and to sex of trainee, we find both are related, singly and in combination, to placement. More men and more trainees from ES counties reported placements. Further, male residents of ES counties reported the highest placement rate (over-all, 65%), women from the same counties next (about 50%), and both sexes from the non-ES counties the lowest rates (about 30%). The differences seem to be accounted for mainly by the less effective outcomes of the job searches by the ES and the trainees. Although non-ES county women report relatively low rates of ES use after training to find jobs, the very low placement rate through this source for those who did use it suggests that increased use would not result in increased placement. We do not know why this should be. It should be noted also that residents of the non-ES counties, both men and women, are not going to be very successful in getting jobs which they attempt to develop themselves. We do not believe that in the short-run the local offices of the Employment Service, which believed itself to be understaffed, can service trainees from the outlying counties. Nor do we believe, still in the short-run, that the trainees from these counties will be personally more effective in dealing by themselves with potential employers they may be able to locate. By this process of elimination, we do believe that only an aggressive job development effort by the E & D project can have a significant short-run effect upon placement. This effort must include encouraging the women trainees to follow up on the job development effort expended by the project on their behalf. Perhaps different job development approaches would be appropriate for men and women; men may be more willing to relocate. The data reporting placement rates, raw and recalculated to show "effectiveness," by sex and county of residence are in Table 15.

## Longer-Term Outcomes

Project Uplift trainees were interviewed by BSSR during an interval from roughly 7 to 12 months after they left training, from February through June, 1966. Seventy-three per cent of those interviewed reported to the interviewer that they were working at that time.[14] The employment rate was slightly higher for men trainees (76%) than for women (71%). No over-all county of residence difference was found. Employment in occupations related to their training fields was found to be characteristic of about 40 per cent of the employed trainees.

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[14] The project, in its final report to OMPER, reported that 83% of its trainees were working at the time of its follow-up, conducted probably about September or October, 1965. The only large discrepancy in the two follow-ups is found for general sales trainees: the project reported that 32 of 36, 89%, were employed; we found 14 of 30, 47%, to be employed. Seven of the 30 whom we interviewed reported that they had not been employed since they left the training project.

## TABLE 15

## PLACEMENT RATES OF PROJECT UPLIFT TRAINEES BY SEX, COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, AND JOB DEVELOPMENT SOURCE

(In Percentages)

| A. Raw Rates | Number | Trainees Reporting a Placement | Trainees Reporting Placement From Job Leads Developed By: | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Project Uplift | Employment Service | Self |
| **Total** | (146) | 44 | 14 | 16 | 28 |
| **Sex** | | | | | |
| Men | (34) | 53 | 15 | 26 | 35 |
| Women | (112) | 41 | 13 | 13 | 26 |
| **County of Residence** | | | | | |
| ES county | (91) | 53 | 14 | 22 | 34 |
| Men | (23) | 65 | 17 | 30 | 43 |
| Women | (68) | 49 | 13 | 19 | 31 |
| Non-ES county | (55) | 29 | 13 | 5 | 18 |
| Men | (11) | 27 | 9 | 18 | 18 |
| Women | (44) | 30 | 14 | 2 | 18 |

| B. Effective Rates | Number | Trainees Reporting Jobs Developed By: | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Project Uplift | Follow-Up by Trainees | Placement | ES | Placement | Self | Placement |
| **Total** | (146) | 72 | 56 | 35 | 72 | 22 | 90 | 31 |
| **Sex** | | | | | | | | |
| Men | (34) | 68 | 70 | 31 | 79 | 33 | 76 | 46 |
| Women | (112) | 72 | 48 | 28 | 70 | 18 | 74 | 35 |
| **County of Residence** | | | | | | | | |
| ES County | (91) | 73 | 55 | 36 | 78 | 28 | 71 | 48 |
| Men | (23) | 70 | 75 | 33 | 74 | 41 | 70 | 63 |
| Women | (68) | 74 | 48 | 38 | 79 | 24 | 72 | 43 |
| Non-ES County | (55) | 69 | 50 | 37 | 62 | 9 | 80 | 23 |
| Men | (11) | 64 | 57 | 25 | 91 | 20 | 91 | 20 |
| Women | (44) | 70 | 48 | 40 | 55 | 4 | 77 | 24 |

By training occupation, fewest of the general sales trainees, slightly over 40 per cent, and roughly two-thirds of the general clerk and electrical appliance repair trainees were working at the time of the BSSR follow-up interview. Eighty-seven per cent of the trainees from the remaining training occupations were working. In particular, almost half (46%) of the women trained either in general sales or general clerk were not working. (Only 13 per cent of the women trained in the other, non-white collar occupations were not working.) Neither age, education, marital status, or head of household status differentiated working from nonworking women. Of the women who were working at the time of the BSSR follow-up interview, about 40 per cent were employed as private household workers or maids, 14 per cent as farm or nonfarm laborers, and about one-fourth in a training-related job. The remaining 20 per cent were in nontraining-related jobs, but not as laborers or domestics.

Table 16, which follows, compares employment characteristics at the time of application to Project Uplift and at the time of the BSSR follow-up interview of trainees and applicants, by sex and county of residence. The findings can be summarized as follows:

1. continuous gainful employment increased more for applicants than for trainees; among trainees, only the male trainees from the ES counties showed a noticeable increase, but their increase is matched by the male applicants from the same counties.

2. comparing employment at the two points in time, only the men trainees from the ES counties showed an increased employment rate greater than their applicant counterparts; the increases were greater for female applicants from the ES counties and male applicants from the non-ES counties.

3. comparing working respondents only, the changes in relative proportions earning $1.25 or more an hour have been greatest for all trainee subgroups except women residents of non-ES counties whose increases are about the same as their applicant counterparts.

4. finally, still comparing only working respondents, except for male trainees from non-ES counties, trainees have had a greater increase in full-time employment of 35 hours or more a week.

It appears that training did not result in disproportionately more jobs for trainees; it did appear to result in higher paying or steadier employment for those trainees who found work after training. The data in Table 16 also suggest that better paying job opportunities in the 10 county area are available more to men than to women. Project Uplift did not find, apparently, employment alternatives for women other than jobs as domestics or laborers, which are characteristic of the area (see Tables 1 and 4).

## V. THE IMAGE OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

According to all reports to BSSR from trainees, the project staff, and from FESC staff, the local offices of the ES did not conduct a concerted campaign to place the trainees from the FAMU project. The project staff reported to OMAT, and independently to BSSR, that the ES is handicapped by the unfavorable image it has among Negroes in the South. The Southern Negro, according to project staffers, sees the ES as cold, discriminatory, and not interested in placing the Negro except, perhaps, in traditional Negro jobs. The project staff concluded that ES discrimination as perceived by some Negroes coupled with ignorance of ES services among other Negroes coalesce to account for the low use made of ES by Negroes.

## TABLE 16

## CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS, BEFORE AND AFTER TRAINING, BY TRAINEE STATUS, COUNTY OF RESIDENCE, AND SEX
(In Percentages)

| Employment Characteristics | Trainees | | | | | | | Applicants | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total N=146 | ES County Residents | | | Non-ES County Residents | | | Total N=151 | ES County Residents | | | Non-ES County Residents | | |
| | | Total N=91 | Men N=23 | Women N=68 | Total N=55 | Men N=11 | Women N=44 | | Total N=93 | Men N=21 | Women N=72 | Total N=58 | Men N=23 | Women N=35 |
| Out of a Job at Some Time | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| During the 12 months before application | 64 | 63 | 87 | 54 | 67 | 55 | 70 | 68 | 69 | 76 | 67 | 67 | 57 | 74 |
| During the 6 months before follow-up | 57 | 49 | 39 | 53 | 69 | 64 | 70 | 49 | 45 | 33 | 49 | 55 | 17 | 80 |
| Change Index[a] | +11 | +22 | +55 | + 2 | - 3 | -17 | - | +28 | +35 | +57 | +27 | +18 | +70 | - 8 |
| Working | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| At time of application | 60 | 60 | 57 | 62 | 60 | 64 | 59 | 58 | 59 | 76 | 54 | 55 | 74 | 43 |
| At time of follow-up | 73 | 73 | 83 | 69 | 73 | 64 | 75 | 74 | 73 | 86 | 69 | 76 | 96 | 63 |
| Change Index[a] | +33 | +33 | +60 | +18 | +33 | - | +39 | +38 | +34 | +42 | +33 | +47 | +85 | +35 |
| Of those working, per cent with hourly wage of $1.25 or more | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| At time of application | 15 | 15 | 23 | 12 | 15 | 57 | 4 | 14 | 16 | 31 | 11 | 9 | 18 | - |
| At time of follow-up | 36 | 41 | 74 | 27 | 27 | 71 | 18 | 28 | 29 | 61 | 18 | 25 | 36 | 14 |
| Change Index[a] | +25 | +31 | +66 | +17 | +14 | +33 | +15 | +16 | +15 | +43 | + 8 | +18 | +22 | +14 |
| Of those working, per cent who worked 35 hours or more a week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| At time of application | 52 | 49 | 61 | 45 | 58 | 100 | 46 | 76 | 80 | 87 | 77 | 69 | 71 | 67 |
| At time of follow-up | 74 | 77 | 100 | 68 | 67 | 86 | 64 | 68 | 60 | 89 | 50 | 80 | 86 | 73 |
| Change Index[a] | +46 | +55 | +100 | +42 | +21 | -[b] | +33 | -33 | -100 | +15 | -117 | +35 | +52 | +18 |

[a] Change is calculated by the formula, $\frac{Time_2 - Time_1}{1-T_1}$ where $T_1$ is the per cent at time of application and $T_2$ the per cent at time of BSSR follow-up interview.

In this section of the report we examine experiences with the ES reported by respondents in the BSSR follow-up survey. We shall consider also what the project did to provide a different kind of experience and speculate about the significance of these efforts.

About half of the respondents reported attempted use of ES placement services (not responsiveness of ES to their requests) prior to their application to Project Uplift. This proportion is intermediate among college-based E & D projects followed up by BSSR:

| | |
|---|---|
| North Carolina A & T (more than half the respondents were urban) | 61% had gone to ES |
| Florida A & M University | 52% had gone to ES |
| Tuskegee Institute (all were male) | 51% had gone to ES |
| Tennessee A & I (about a third were white) | 46% had gone to ES |

However, no E & D project emphasized more than FAMU the relations of the ES and the Negro, nor did any other project do as much as FAMU to incorporate ES services in the search for jobs following training.

Table 17 represents the outcome of a search for some possible correlates of prior use of ES. Residence at time of application in a county with an ES office is used as a major variable. The finding that county of residence was highly related to use of ES was analyzed further[15] with "multivariate analysis" techniques. No third variable investigated could "explain away" the significance of county of residence.

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[15] The following possible outcomes were sought: a reduction in the size of the relation through the introduction of third variables into the statistical analysis, and an increase in the size of the relation for subgroups within each set of counties with a corresponding decrease for other subgroups. The third variables introduced were variables B through K as defined by Table 17.

## TABLE 17

## USE OF ES TO SEEK WORK BEFORE APPLICATION TO TRAINING BY SELECTED RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

| Respondent Characteristic | Number | Per Cent Reporting Use |
|---|---|---|
| A. All Respondents | 302 | 52 |
| B. Trainee Status | | |
| Trainees | 146 | 53 |
| Applicants | 156 | 52 |
| C. Sex | | |
| Men | 82 | 50 |
| Women | 220 | 52 |
| D. Age | | |
| Under 22 years old | 112 | 48 |
| 22-25 years | 67 | 54 |
| 26-35 years | 88 | 59 |
| 36 years and older | 32 | 44 |
| E. Education | | |
| Less than high school graduate | 132 | 52 |
| High school graduate or more | 167 | 53 |
| F. Marital Status | | |
| Married | 95 | 54 |
| Single | 158 | 51 |
| Other (widowed, divorced, separated, etc.) | 49 | 51 |
| G. Household Income during Year Preceeding Application | | |
| Less than $1500 | 78 | 50 |
| $1500-$2999 | 101 | 49 |
| $3000 and over | 50 | 58 |
| Don't know | 73 | 53 |
| H. Unemployment during Year Preceeding Application | | |
| None | 103 | 56 |
| Less than 1 month | 12 | 50 |
| 1-3 months | 49 | 65 |
| 3-6 months | 54 | 50 |
| More than 6 months | 71 | 37 |
| Other | 13 | 54 |
| I. Primary Occupation before Application | | |
| Skilled | 8 | 50 |
| Semiskilled | 16 | 50 |
| Unskilled | 40 | 63 |
| All farm (owner, operator, tenant, laborer, etc.) | 51 | 41 |
| Other | 179 | 53 |

TABLE 17--Continued

| Respondent Characteristic | Number | Per Cent Reporting Use |
|---|---|---|
| White-collar | 17 | 41 |
| Blue-collar | 177 | 64 |
| All farm | 51 | 41 |
| Not applicable | 57 | 26 |
| J. "Do you think that the people who work in the public employment office in your area would try to help you get a job just as much as they would try to help anyone else?" | | |
| Yes, just as much | 177 | 54 |
| No, not just as much | 85 | 59 |
| Don't know | 40 | 28 |
| K. Number of 8 Training Occupations Seen as Leading to Jobs Typically Held by Whites | | |
| 0 | 95 | 60 |
| 1-2 | 92 | 51 |
| 3-4 | 74 | 43 |
| 5 or more | 39 | 51 |
| L. County of Residence at Time of Application: | | |
| Lived in county with ES office | 184 | 71 |
| Lived in county without ES office | 113 | 21 |

We found a statistical relation between present attitude and prior use; within each set of counties, more of those with favorable attitudes and fewest of those who could not be classified as having a simple attitude toward ES reported having used ES in the past. Those with negative attitudes reported intermediate prior use. This finding does lend some support to the project's contention that image determines use, but it must be remembered that county of residence is the necessary condition: most respondents in ES counties and few respondents in non-ES counties, whatever their attitudes, reported prior use (see Table 18).

## TABLE 18

## RESPONDENTS' PRIOR USE OF ES BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT APPLICATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD ES
(In Percentages)

| Prior to Application | Resided in ES County and | | | Resided in Non-ES County and | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Positive Attitude N=49 | Negative Attitude N=114 | "Don't Know" N=19 | Positive Attitude N=37 | Negative Attitude N=57 | "Don't Know" N=19 |
| Had used ES | 82 | 69 | 58 | 30 | 23 | - |
| Hadn't used ES | 18 | 31 | 42 | 70 | 77 | 100 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Line J of Table 17 suggests another interpretation of the relation between attitude and use. That line shows high and equivalent use reported by both those with positive and those with negative attitudes and low use among those who "didn't know." It may be the experience associated with the use that determines the attitude rather than the attitude which determines the use. The plausibility of this argument is supported by the data of Table 19.

Within the ES counties, a favorable prior experience with the ES is associated with a positive attitude; respondents with an unfavorable prior experience are much less apt to hold positive attitudes. The inexperienced, the nonusers, give the ES the benefit of the doubt; they are more apt to report a positive attitude and as likely to say "don't know" as they are to report a negative attitude. The nonusers in the ES counties, in other words, do not hold a negative image of the ES; that is the province of the disappointed users.

## TABLE 19

## RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD ES BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT APPLICATION AND PRIOR USE OF AND EXPERIENCE WITH ES

(In Percentages)

| Attitude | Resided in ES County and | | | | Resided in Non-ES County and | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Used ES and | | | | Used ES and | |
| | Total N=182 | Hadn't Used ES N=52 | Didn't Get Job N=65 | Got Job N=65 | Total N=113 | Hadn't Used ES N=89 | Didn't Get Job N=21 | Got Job N=3[a] |
| Positive | 63 | 68 | 51 | 71 | 50 | 50 | 48 | 100 |
| Negative | 27 | 17 | 40 | 21 | 33 | 29 | 52 | -[a] |
| Don't know | 10 | 15 | 9 | 8 | 17 | 21 | - | -[a] |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a] The number which is the base for percentaging in this column is too small to be meaningful.

Within the non-ES counties the picture is not as complete because of the small number of users and the very small number of successful users. However, in the non-ES counties the nonusers are less negative than the users who didn't get jobs. Finally, comparing similar "use" categories in the two sets of counties, it appears that residents of non-ES counties, whatever their prior use of the ES, tend to be somewhat more negative than their counterparts in the ES counties.

In summary, "image" plays at best a secondary role in accounting for use of ES. Our data derived from the applicant pool to the FAMU project suggests that negative images of the ES result from negative prior experience and that county of residence does play a part. It is doubtful that the project's experience with its applicant pool or with its trainees could have been the exclusive basis for its analysis of Negroes' images of the ES. Our data simply do not show a sizeable reservoir of ill-will on the part of Negroes toward the ES.

The follow-up survey data suggest several factors which may account for both the lessened use of ES by non-ES county residents and the lower rate of placement they reported. First, physical accessibility of the offices in terms of transportation clearly plays a part within types of counties although contrasts between respondents in the two sets of counties are maintained (see Table 20).[16]

## TABLE 20

### POSTTRAINING USE OF ES BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT APPLICATION AND AVAILABILITY OF TRANSPORTATION AMONG RESPONDENTS (In Percentages)

| After Training | Resided in ES County and | | | Resided in Non-ES County and | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Had Own Car N=20 | Had Other Transportation N=65 | Had No Means of Trans. N=6 | Had Own Car N=17 | Had Other Transportation N=38 | Had No Means of Trans. N=0 |
| Went to ES | 95 | 74 | 67 | 76 | 55 | - |
| Did not go to ES | 5 | 26 | 33 | 24 | 45 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | - |

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[16] Posttraining use is the dependent variable here because it coincides more closely in time with the transportation item. The latter refers to the availability of transportation at the time of interview which was from 7-12 months after training.

Of course, availability of transportation is but one factor which may affect accessibility; even so, distance per se, as measured in terms of miles, does not seem to be a factor. The effect of residence in non-ES counties on communication between ES offices and job seekers will be discussed shortly.

The appropriateness of the ES as a channel for jobs of the type people are looking for also seems to affect use. Local offices of the ES may not be perceived as places to find leads to the kinds of work people may seek or for the only occupations for which ES may consider them qualified. Some support for either interpretation is provided by the BSSR follow-up data. Respondents were asked:

> What kind of work have you done more than any other kind of work--no matter how many different jobs that may have been?

Their responses for selected occupational categories are shown in Table 21.

Respondents whose "primary occupation" was in farming, or classifiable in the clerical, craftsmen, or operatives categories were least likely to have reported prior use of ES to get a job. About two-thirds of those who were domestics, private household workers, and waiters, cooks, and laborers reported prior use of ES. The placement data for those who did report prior use shows that waiters, cooks, and laborers were most likely and those who had farm occupations least likely to have been placed on a job by ES. For the other occupational categories, the chances were about 50-50 that they had been placed on a job through the ES. The suggestion is that Negroes who work in agriculture will not go to the ES to find employment; if they do, the chances they will find it are poor. The non-ES counties have a heavy concentration of farm workers (see Table 3); extrapolating the results to the larger populations suggests that little use will be made of ES by persons in these areas until efforts are made by ES to recruit and place farm workers in attractive occupations.

### TABLE 21

### USE OF ES AND PLACEMENT PRIOR TO APPLICATION BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION AMONG RESPONDENTS
(In Percentages)

| | Primary Occupation | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All Farm | Private Household Workers, Service Workers, Other than Protective, Waiters and Cooks, etc. | Clerical, Craftsmen, Operatives | Waiters, Cooks, Laborers |
| Prior to Application | (N=51) | (N=124) | (N=36) | (N=32) |
| Went to ES office | 41 | 66 | 47 | 63 |
| Never went to ES office | 59 | 34 | 53 | 34 |
| Not ascertained | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Went to ES Prior to Application and | (N=20) | (N=82) | (N=17) | (N=20) |
| Got job | 20 | 46 | 47 | 70 |
| Didn't get job | 80 | 48 | 53 | 30 |
| Don't know, not ascertained | - | 6 | - | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Certain small reforms may be suggested also if ES wishes to increase or merely hold its clientele. The prime example is to give to registrants the courtesy of a response. It is possible that ES office practice may involve little else than to give systematic inattention this week to last week's registrants. If only today's applicants are "current," Negroes may easily interpret this common practice to have a racial base. An examination of the questionnaires of respondents from the non-ES counties for spontaneous comments recorded by interviewers produced 18 responses; 8 contained explicit mention by the respondent that after registering he had not received further communication from the ES. (The remaining questionnaires contained explicit references to discrimination in job referrals.)

None of the foregoing is evidence for the contention that the ES does--or does not--discriminate in practice against Negroes generally or those from non-ES counties particularly.

## Referral to ES After Training

The FAMU project alone, among five college-based E & D projects followed up by BSSR, included registration with the ES as an integral part of the training experience. The registration process began at the project site. Trainees were told by the project staff to report to their local ES offices after training to complete the process. Almost three-fourths of the interviewed trainees reported having done so:

| | Number | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|
| All trainees | (146) | 72 |
| Trainees from ES counties | (91) | 78 |
| Prior users of ES | (62) | 85 |
| Not prior users | (29) | 62 |
| Trainees from non-ES counties | (55) | 62 |
| Prior users of ES | (14) | 79 |
| Not prior users | (41) | 56 |

Clearly, the project effectively intervened to increase the attempted use made of ES services by its trainees. County of residence here bears but a slight relation to registration. However, placements did not result for most of those who completed the registration process as shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22

WORK SEEKING AFTER TRAINING AND PLACEMENT THROUGH THE ES
BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AT APPLICATION TO PROJECT
AND PRIOR EXPERIENCE WITH THE ES AMONG INTERVIEWED TRAINEES
(In Percentages)

| | Resided in ES County and Prior to Training | | | | Resided in non-ES County and Prior to Training | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Had Used ES and | | | | Had Used ES and | |
| | Total N=70 | Hadn't Used ES N=17 | Didn't Get Job N=24 | Got Job N=29 | Total N=34 | Hadn't Used ES N=23 | Didn't Get Job N=10 | Got Job N=1 |
| Went to ES After Training and | | | | | | | | |
| Got a job | 29 | 23 | 25 | 34 | 9 | - | 30 | - |
| Didn't get a job | 71 | 77 | 75 | 66 | 91 | 100 | 70 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | - |

The county of residence effect reappears in Table 22: fewer of those trainees from the non-ES counties reported placements as a result of their registration. We speculate that the net outcome of the increased registration and low subsequent placement may be an increase in the extent of negative attitudes toward ES. The non-users, prior to training, had tended to be positively inclined; the project transformed more than half of the nonusers into users, but placements resulted for only a fourth from the ES counties and for none from the non-ES counties. If our previous analysis holds here, the positive nonusers have been transformed into negative users following their unsuccessful experience. It may be conjectured that negative attitudes represent a potential basis for protest against the ES. It is not clear to us what the outcome could possibly be; if the ES has insufficient job orders in the local areas no protest against ES can be effective in increasing its job orders. The efficacy of inter-office clearance procedures as well as the willingness of future trainees to relocate elsewhere remain to be seen. At the time of our research neither the local offices nor the trainees associated with Project Uplift seemed disposed to give placement or being placed, respectively, first priority.

## VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. OMAT designed this E & D project to meet its own needs and to satisfy the contractor. We believe that this strategy produced some lack of compliance on the part of its E & D contractor, increased the probability that inappropriate features would be introduced into the project, and tended to alienate local offices of the State Employment Service.

An alternative strategy, one more attractive to BSSR, would require planning grants to prepare proposals designed to meet explicit specifications of desired outcomes of an E & D project. A multipurpose planning grant could allow for the submission of documentation that the potential contractor's proposal is relevant to the needs of the local population; documentation may include research as well as pilot demonstrations. It is plausible that the participation of local agency representatives in planning conferences may increase the probability of their cooperation with the project.

2. The FAMU E & D Project, Project Uplift, was neither well administered nor coordinated. Competent direction of the training portion of the project might have been supplied by persons within the FAMU community, but the contractual arrangements between OMAT and FAMU probably precluded their cooperation. We believe that the contractual arrangements may have stimulated or encouraged antagonism and indifference in the FAMU community toward the E & D project.

3. The project's lack of staff specialists in training and counseling made it dependent upon consultants for direction and advice. However, the contributions of the consultantswere diminished by this same factor; that is, the project staff was not able to evaluate the contrasting or contradictory recommendations of the consultants. Supervision of the entire training program must be the daily responsibility of a full-time project staff member.

4. Project Uplift exhibited a consistant preference to carry out by itself functions allocated by the project plan to other groups or agencies. In many instances the project did not have enough staff to conduct so many activities on so broad a scale. Nevertheless, the project did demonstrate that residential facilities independent of the college are feasible and that "mass" recruitment methods can produce a sizeable applicant pool of disadvantaged persons.

5. The applicant pool recruited by the project was not characteristic of the Negro population residing in the 10 county recruitment area, being much younger and better educated. Yet it is quite clear that the young Negro high school graduates in these counties have a great need for manpower development services.

7. The availability of residential facilities probably increased the participation of trainees from rural and sparsely populated areas distant from Tallahassee. Although we do not believe that additional justification for residence is necessary, we did seek evidence that the residential experience may have enriched the training. We did not find the evidence. Instead, the conclusion is that the content of the training and the trainees' experiences during training will determine whether residence has enrichment value.

8. The project's job development efforts were clearly insufficient. While the project plan called for attempting to relocate trainees elsewhere, most of the project's limited job development effort was expended in three counties within the 10 county area. Trainees in a relatively short-term program, left to job hunt on their own, without financial resources or personal encouragement, will tend to stay in their home areas.

9. The diverse training needs of the rural Negro population in these counties suggests that only a very comprehensive facility can provide the range of levels of training required. Instruction should be offered at pre-high school, high school, and post-high school levels.

10. Placement following training was reported by only half the trainees. The project's own job development effort led to placements more often than either ES registration or the trainees' own job searches. However, the project was most successful in placing trainees in traditional Negro jobs: home attendant and cook. ES was most successful in placing electrical appliance repairmen. Persons trained as auto service station operators and, again, cooks were most successful in placing themselves. The placement of individuals trained in white-collar occupations, clerks and sales, was relatively low. Had the quality of training in the clerk

course been higher perhaps more trainees would have passed the Federal civil service test. (None did.) While the quality of the sales training was excellent, the project limited job development to employers whose clientele was Negro. But the project did not seek out, in Jacksonville and other urban centers, regional headquarters of firms, where personnel decisions are frequently made, with local branches or stores in the 10 county area. Hence, the project did not demonstrate the full limitations to employment of Negroes in white-collar occupations in a generally rural, segregated area.

11. Special job development efforts will have to be expended for women trainees generally and for trainees from the more rural areas. The selection of training occupations, the availability of jobs, and a strong and continuous counseling program all play a part in job development and placement.

12. While the project staff has contended that the Employment Service has a negative image among Negroes, our analysis suggests that "image" plays a secondary role at best in accounting for the use of its services. County of residence, that is, the presence of an ES office in the individual's county, is most highly related to use of ES. Our analysis suggests that negative images result from unsuccessful prior experience with ES; persons with no previous experience tend to give the ES the benefit of the doubt.

13. Aside from questions of discrimination by ES which we cannot document one way or the other, the ES might create a better image for itself by simply contacting registrants periodically. Negroes in these areas may interpret the absence of communications from ES as evidence of

discrimination whereas, in fact, ES offices may, as a matter of routine, not give any attention to persons who registered before a job order was received. The courtesy of a response may pay off in terms of public image.

14. Project Uplift was the only E & D project followed up by BSSR which included registration with ES as an integral part of the training experience. It was effective in increasing the attempted use made of ES services by its trainees. However, placements did not result for most of those who completed the registration process.

15. Residing in a county in which ES offices were not located was related, in our analysis, to a number of employment-related phenomena. The analysis suggests to us that it will be difficult for ES to provide adequate service to residents of those counties, where employment opportunities for Negroes are limited. It will take something more than was attempted by Project Uplift to get these people to relocate. The local ES offices serving these counties may have to arrange to refer them to other offices with more job orders. It is possible, however, given the central place in the agricultural economy of the Negroes in these counties, that large scale relocation will engender political opposition from farm owners.